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ABSTRACT

A doctoral dissertation describes the needs, attitudes, and characteristics of 82 bilingual native speakers of Spanish in Arizona, most community college students, concerning their Spanish language education. Data were gathered using a survey, 14 interviews, observation in classroom and home environments, and four case studies. Results indicate the subjects placed high value on the Spanish language and the importance of maintaining and continuing to learn Spanish. Although many were comfortable using Spanish at home, their comfort level declined when using Spanish outside the home. Subjects raised in Spanish-speaking homes indicated a desire to study Spanish with other native speakers. These individuals also self-assessed higher in all four language skill areas (listening, speaking, reading, writing) and in confidence in using Spanish. All participants rated the skills' importance in the same order. The majority of those raised in Spanish-speaking homes felt equally competent in Spanish and English, while only 20 percent of others felt so. The role of family, especially the grandmother, in transmission of language was found to be extremely important. It is concluded that the optimal Spanish-for-Native-Speakers program should encourage continued home language acquisition and maintenance in home, community, and academic settings. Contains 72 references. (Author/MSE)

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by Gloria Delany-Barmann

Gloria
Delany-Barmann

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United States Native Spanish Speakers and their Spanish Language Education: Needs, Attitudes, and Characteristics

by Gloria Delany-Barmann

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

UNITED STATES NATIVE SPANISH SPEAKERS AND THEIR SPANISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION: NEEDS, ATTITUDES, AND CHARACTERISTICS

GLORIA DELANY-BARMANN

This is a descriptive study on the needs, attitudes, and characteristics of bilingual native speakers of Spanish in the United States concerning their Spanish language education. I examine background data, language attitudes, linguistic self assessments, Spanish acquisition process, and educational needs of native Spanish speaking students. The findings provide vital knowledge needed to create an appropriate, more effective, and culturally responsive teaching and learning environment for United States native speakers of Spanish.

Study results indicated that the participants place a high value on the Spanish language and on the importance of maintaining and continuing to learn Spanish. Although many are comfortable in using Spanish at home, their comfort level declines when using Spanish in domains outside of the home (i.e., the Spanish classroom). Those participants raised in Spanish-speaking homes indicated the desire to study Spanish with other native Spanish-speakers. These participants also self-assessed

themselves higher in the four skills areas (listening, speaking, reading, and writing). Those raised in Spanish-speaking homes and those not raised in Spanish-speaking homes self-assessed their skills and the importance of these skills in the same order (listening, speaking, reading, and writing). Those respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes expressed a much higher level of confidence about their Spanish. The majority of those respondents also reported themselves as being equally as able to express themselves in Spanish or in English. Only 20% of those not raised in Spanish-speaking homes agreed with that statement.

The role of family (especially the grandmother) in the transmission of language is extremely important. The students not raised in Spanish-speaking homes but who spoke Spanish with their grandparents self-assessed their Spanish language abilities higher than those who did not mention using Spanish with their grandparents.

The optimal SNS program should continue to encourage language acquisition and maintenance of students' home language in home, community, and academic settings. The materials used in these programs need to reflect the needs and characteristics of the students.

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by Gloria Delany-Barmann

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PREFACE

As a Peace Corps Volunteer I lived in Santa Clara la Laguna, an indigenous village in the highlands of Guatemala. I was working in the Guatemalan Ministry of Agriculture as an agricultural extensionist. I worked with a variety of people: women's groups, high school students, children, literacy groups, farmers, and other agricultural extensionists. During that time, I began to consider some perceived correlations that I was seeing between language issues and indigenous people in Guatemala and Spanish and bilingual Spanish/English speakers in the United States.

In Guatemala, education is compulsory through the sixth grade. It is also compulsory that the curriculum be taught in Spanish, a language that is a second language for more than 55% of the population. In the village where I lived, it was the second language for 99% of the population. Children whose first language is one other than Spanish spend the entire first year learning Spanish. It is highly unusual for students to have the opportunity to become literate in their first language in their first six years of school. If a child is fortunate enough to continue their education, then they may have the opportunity to study about their own language and culture. However, due to the political climate in Guatemala, this is oftentimes interpreted as subversive.

In the United States, children who are bilingual are also often denied the opportunity to become literate in their first language. In fact, some children are discouraged from even

speaking their first language. There are many sociocultural, sociopolitical, and sociolinguistic reasons for this. Yet the result can often be devastating to a language. One researcher discovered that between the years 1980 and 1990 the number of young people that maintain their Spanish decreased by 11.9% (Hernández-Chávez, 1995).

After living in Guatemala for two and a half years I returned to the United States to pursue an Ed.D. in Curriculum and Instruction. My first semester in school I decided to teach a beginning conversational Spanish class for the community schools system. In this class I discovered I had two native Spanish speakers. These students had very high listening comprehension and excellent pronunciation. However, their communication skills in Spanish were very weak. It occurred to me that this was probably a direct result of the education that these students received. I am referring to formal education as well as the education we receive via the media, and other forms of sociocultural transmission (Hansen, 1990).

It was during my time teaching this particular course that I saw a call for papers for the First Annual Conference for Spanish for Native Speakers to be held in Las Cruces, New Mexico. I inquired about the conference and attended it in May 1995. A wide range of topics was addressed at this conference ranging from detailed studies of native speakers' lexicons to a survey of the universities that offer special programs or courses for native speakers of Spanish in their Modern Language Departments. In July of 1996, I attended the Second Annual Conference where I

presented a paper titled "Teaching Spanish to Bilingual Native Speakers of Spanish: An Ethnographic Perspective." This annual conference helped to confirm that there are many people in the United States who are deeply concerned about the loss of Spanish in this country. It also raised important pedagogical issues regarding the needs of bilingual Spanish speakers.

The above mentioned paper was one that I wrote over the time span of a year while participating in three graduate courses at NAU: Ethnographic Research Methods, and Anthropological Foundations of Education, and Sociolinguistics. Since that time I also participated in another sociolinguistics course titled "Educational Applications of Sociolinguistics." All of these courses, in addition to other coursework I have had as a doctoral student, have given me the firm grounding in theory and in naturalistic research methods to carry out this study.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This is a descriptive study on the needs, attitudes, and characteristics of bilingual native speakers of Spanish in the United States concerning their Spanish language education. I examine background data, language attitudes, linguistic self assessments, Spanish acquisition process, and educational needs of native Spanish speaking students. The findings provide vital knowledge needed to create an appropriate, more effective, and culturally responsive teaching and learning environment for United States native speakers of Spanish.

Overview

The United States Bureau of the Census (1990) estimated that there were more that 17 million Spanish speakers in the United States. Despite the large number of people with fluent skills in Spanish, the Spanish language is diminishing in the United States. For example, in Dade County, Florida, home of 1.3 million Latinos, 98 percent of the high school population graduates without being fluent in Spanish (Arizona Republic, June 16, 1996). This is an astonishing statistic for a county where most of the population considers itself bilingual. Nationally, the statistics are not much better. Over 30% of Hispanic children in this country are already English monolinguals. This percentage rises to 55% when both parents are born in the United States and English is the primary home language. The percentage of Hispanic

children who are English monolinguals rises to 80% when the mother is born in the United States and monolingual in English (Fishman, 1991).

Efforts at reversing language shift within the Hispanic population have become quite focused during the past couple of decades. One aspect of these efforts has been the creation of programs and classes designed especially for teaching Spanish to native speakers of Spanish at many colleges and universities. Among these are the University of Arizona, University of California at Davis, New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, Northern Arizona University, Arizona State University, and the University of California at Santa Cruz, to name just a few. According to Teschner (in Valdés, 1995), of all colleges and universities in the United States that offer Spanish as a foreign language, 22% also offer special programs or courses for native speakers of Spanish. However, it should be underscored that the contexts of these programs and the courses offered differ significantly. For example, at some institutions of higher education there may be only one course offered designed for native speakers, while in another there will be an entire program for native speakers.

Spanish for Native Speakers (SNS) programs are growing in number in the United States (Liguori, 1996). The number of people of Hispanic heritage is also increasing. Demographers estimate that the number of people in the Hispanic community will triple in number by the year 2050. Hernández-Chávez (1995) noted that in the 1990 United States Census the number of young people who

maintain their Spanish decreased by 11.9% between the years 1980 and 1990. While some individuals still communicate in Spanish, their skills in this language may be limited or diminishing.

The continued decrease of native Spanish speakers in this country is of concern to its speakers and to many educators and linguists. Efforts to reverse the cumulative process of attrition occur in many forms. For example, parents may insist that Spanish be spoken at home. Linguists and educators may be involved in reversing language shift efforts by planning and implementing native speaker programs at schools and universities. According to Fishman (1991, p. 81), such efforts are necessary in order to save endangered languages from "erosion and ultimate extinction". Though Spanish is not considered endangered, the statistics demonstrate a steady decline of native speakers in the United States.

Much of the research related to the subject of Spanish for Native Speaker courses focuses on cognitive issues such as the expansion of the bilingual range (Caminero, 1995) the transfer of literacy skills (Barkin, 1981a, Faltis, 1981, 1984, 1986), and the acquisition of the "prestige variety" (Politzer, 1993). In addition to the above mentioned critical factors in Spanish language maintenance and improved proficiency, I propose that there are numerous attitudinal and affective variables of language maintenance which may play a crucial role in language maintenance. Additionally, the demographic characteristics and other variables such as with whom and what do the students

associate Spanish must be considered. These variables must also be incorporated into research, theory and practice.

Many anthropologists agree that language is a critical factor in ensuring cultural transmission. The opportunity for bilingual native speakers of Spanish to study their own language and culture may be a significant factor in language maintenance and cultural transmission. The study the Spanish language in an environment that facilitates the transmission of students' cultural knowledge may enhance the possibilities for reversing language shift. The affective, attitudinal, and demographic variables that underlie learning in this environment are significant factors to be considered.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to describe the needs, attitudes, and characteristics of native Spanish speakers regarding Spanish language instruction. In this study I explored the following questions:

1) What are the language attitudes of native speakers;
    a) Toward the language itself?
    b) Toward their own speech?
    c) Toward other native speakers' speech
    d) Their feelings about others' attitudes toward Spanish? (These were outlined in Peñalosa, 1980);
2) What are the characteristics of the language learning/acquisition experience;

a) Where did they learn/acquire Spanish?

b) When did they learn/acquire Spanish?

c) With whom did they learn/acquire Spanish?

3) How do these individuals maintain their Spanish language skills;

a) Where do they speak Spanish?

b) With whom do they speak Spanish?

c) Do they use Spanish in their community?

4) What are the reasons for participating in SNS course.

Significance of the Study

A steady interest in how to teach Spanish to native speakers of Spanish can be traced back in educational circles to the 1930s (Valdés and Teschner, 1977). However, it was not until the late 70's and early 80s that research articles increased significantly (Valdés-Fallis, 1976, 1978; Valdés, Lozano, & García-Moya, 1981). Much of this earlier research focused on questions regarding the teaching of grammar (Lozano, 1981), testing and assessment (Barkin, 1981b; Ziegler, 1981), and curriculum design (Gonzales-Berry, 1981). More recent research has continued to focus on some of the same areas (D'Ambruoso, 1993; Riegelhaupt, 1994). However, there also has been an increase use of ethnographic approaches to research regarding Spanish for Native Speakers (Trueba, 1993).

This study results in a better understanding of the needs, attitudes, and characteristics of bilingual native speakers of Spanish regarding the further acquisition and maintenance of

Spanish. These insights can help instructors and students to focus on variables that motivate students to maintain and learn more about their own language and culture.

Definition of Terms

In order for the reader to readily understand the language and interpret the data in this study, definitions of some frequently used terms are presented:

Affect: Generally this term has been used to refer to mental aspects of human nature that are differentiated from reason. Some examples would include: emotion, preference, choice, and feeling. "These are based on beliefs, aspirations, attitudes, and appreciations regarding what is desired and desirable in personal development and social relationships." (Beane, 1990)

Chicano: A person of Mexican descent who is a long term resident or born in the United States. Chicanos are a very heterogeneous population that varies along all social dimensions (Peñalosa, 1980). It is a term that sometimes has political connotations to indicate "work for the movement which will better the conditions of his people" (Tovar, 1974, p.3).

Codeswitching: The use of two languages, registers, or dialects in the same discourse. It can occur within the same conversation or even in the same sentence or utterance (Riegelhaupt, personal communication, 1997).

Diglossia: A situation where speakers employ different languages or codes in mutually exclusive domains. For example, a Spanish speaker in the United States may use Spanish at home and English

at work. A speaker might employ one dialect or colloquial variety for casual conversation and another for writing and formal affairs.

Educated native speaker: An individual who has available to him or herself several registers. This person has the ability to know when, where, why, and how to employ these registers. These individuals often have a high degree of skill in utilizing the standard dialect of the language at hand.

Emic: The view from within the culture, the folk view, in terms of native categories (Spindler, 1982). It is the perspective of the participants under study.

Etic: The view based on categories created by someone from outside a culture. It is the perspective of the researcher.

Heritage language learners: People who are in the process of learning a language spoken by their parents (or grandparents) which this person did not acquire.

Language: A term used to refer either to a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms (Wardhaugh, 1992).

Language dominance: If a multilingual person communicates with more ease in one language than another, he/she is said to be dominant in that language.

Language maintenance: The preservation of a language in a language community.

Language maintenance programs: A term used to describe programs that assist speakers of a language to continue to employ that language on a daily basis.

Language shift: A term used to describe the shift in usage of one language to another.

Languagism: The prejudice, discrimination, and oppression against people because of the way they speak (Peñalosa, 1980).

Native speaker: A person who is a first language speaker of a given language.

Nonstandard dialect: A language variety spoken by a group at the lower end of the social scale (Wolfson, 1989).

Prescriptivism: A prescribed manner of setting norms or standards of language. It often reflects social values and some ideological position (Peñalosa, 1980).

Register: Vocabulary items, pronunciation, and grammar associated with discrete occupational or social groups. A person may control a variety of registers.

Spanish for Native Speakers: Spanish for Native Speakers courses are Spanish courses offered by some high school, colleges, and universities to students who have been brought up hearing and/or speaking Spanish at home and/or with others in their communities. The level of proficiency of these students may vary considerably. Some students may not have used or even heard Spanish for years, while others may employ it on a daily basis. There may also be a wide range of Spanish dialects among the students since they come from different social classes and different cultures and/or countries (i.e., El Salvador, Mexico, Puerto Rico). Generally, the standard Spanish dialect is the one taught at colleges and universities.

Standard Spanish dialect: Dialect of Spanish taught in schools. Generally, this dialect is used by educated Spanish speakers (Peñalosa, 1980). It also has variation depending on the countries of origin. It is most standard in its written form (Riegelhaupt, personal communication, 1997).

Summary

It has been through my own teaching experiences with native Spanish-speakers and review of a substantial part of the relevant literature that I consider bilingual native speakers of Spanish to have different needs than those people in the Spanish classroom who are learning Spanish as a second language. Students who participate in a Spanish for native speakers course may come to that course with varying degrees of proficiency in Spanish. Some students are completely fluent in Spanish. They may have studied in a country where Spanish is the dominant language, thus possessing a wide range of registers. That is, that they can use Spanish in a variety of situations. For example, they may be able to discuss politics or literature with complete fluency in Spanish. Others are fairly fluent in Spanish, but lack certain vocabulary and may be dominant in English. There are also those students who may lack proficiency in speaking Spanish, but have no problem comprehending the language. Indeed, the scenarios are endless. The linguistic heterogeneity of the students comes as no surprise to an instructor of SNS courses.

Despite an increase in the number of people of Hispanic heritage in the United States, the continued decrease of young

people who maintain their Spanish is of great concern to linguists, educators, and many individuals in the Hispanic community. There are numerous factors related to language maintenance and the continued or further acquisition of Spanish. Among them are those that are directly related to demographic characteristics, language attitudes, and the needs of native Spanish speakers. These variables are explored in this study in order to provide for a more informed, and culturally responsive pedagogy for native Spanish-speakers who want to maintain and improve their Spanish.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this review of the literature, I (a) discuss studies focusing on language attitudes of native speakers toward Spanish; (b) I elaborate the diverse needs of Spanish speakers in the Spanish language classroom; (c) examine the historical foundations of Spanish for native speakers programs; and (d) provide a review of Spanish for native speakers texts.

The discussion regarding language attitudes is divided into the following sections: (1) An introduction; (2) Chicano sociolinguistics; (3) attitudes and language contact; (4) attitudes and sociocultural relations; and (5) attitudes toward linguisitc variation.

Language Attitudes Toward Spanish

Introduction

Every person belongs to a speech community, which shares the same understanding of when, where, how, and with whom to employ a certain speech variety. However, not all speech communities wield the same amount of power and prestige. The way a person speaks often is associated with issues of social status and social mobility. Riles, Giles, & Sebastian (1982, p.1) note that "Minority groups are often faced with difficult decisions regarding whether to gain social mobility by adopting the language patterns of the dominant group or to maintain their

group identity by retaining their native speech style." Such decisions reflect their own language attitudes. Sociolinguistics provides a tool for the study of such attitudes.

Interest and research in Hispanic sociolinguistics have been documented for several decades. For example, Barker (1947) conducted sociolinguistic research in a Hispanic community in Tucson, Arizona as early as the 1930s. His work focused on the social functions of language varieties and patterns of language use in this bilingual/bicultural community. Barker's work was truly a ground-breaking effort in the area of Hispanic sociolinguistics. However, it was not until later that this particular field became of greater interest to other scholars.

Chicano Sociolinguistics

In Chicano Sociolinguistics, Peñalosa (1980, p. 181) posits the notion that "people react not to linguistic behavior as such, but rather to language primarily as symbolic of something else, i.e., supposed social or psychological characteristics." Language cannot be studied without the consideration of its ideological and social contexts. If these factors are not considered, such a study could yield results unrepresentative of a community and its people. Peñalosa notes that much of the research that he reviewed in his discussion of language attitudes was conducted in school settings and not in the home environment. The context of the research raises the question of whether or not the participants would have responded differently if the research were conducted their home environments. The social and ideological

characteristics of these contexts could influence the results, their interpretations, and application. Indeed, Carranza and Ryan (1975) found that Mexican-American high-school students revealed a preference for English in the school context and a preference for Spanish in the home context.

Peñalosa approaches his discussion on language attitudes by dividing it into five distinct sections: Prescriptivism, attitudes toward language choice, attitudes toward Spanish, attitudes toward English, and mixing. However, before delving into these areas he prefaces his discussion by introducing the idea of languagism: the prejudice, discrimination, and oppression against people because of the way they speak. The notion of languagism (see definitions, p. 8) is an issue that requires the attention of both in-service and pre-service educators. However, Peñalosa warns not to carry the idea of languagism too far. Rather, he suggests that we study it in conjunction with racism.

Prescriptivism, the first topic of Peñalosa's discussion, addresses the matter of "correctness" in language use. This issue of linguistic purity is reflected in the Chicano community in a variety of ways. For example, Peñalosa notes that it is not uncommon for a Chicano to be reluctant to speak Spanish with Mexicans or others whom they believe speak "proper" Spanish. This notion was corraborated by my findings. Powerful institutions such as the Real Academia Española, an institution that since the eighteenth century has attempted to regulate the Spanish language, have contributed to this notion of "proper" Spanish. Other Spanish-speaking countries also have established

their own language academies. For example, Mexico, where many of my subjects originate.

Peñalosa makes the striking suggestion that the issue of language choice, the second topic of his discussion, is so powerful that it could inhibit a child from speaking at all. For instance, children may be given either an explicit or implicit message at school that their English is substandard. At home, the same children may receive similar messages concerning their Spanish. Such attitudes toward the children's language undoubtedly could have a powerful effect on how they view themselves and their communities. It could in fact lead to rejection of the language of their parents and of their community.

The third topic of Peñalosa's discussion, attitudes toward Spanish, he outlines various perceptions of Spanish in both Chicano and Anglo communities. In this section, the author makes the important point that language is partly valued by the things that it symbolizes. For example, for some people Spanish symbolizes group identity. This explanation could clarify further why Chicanos may use a distinctly English influenced style of Spanish (Ramirez, 1974 in Peñalosa). This style of Spanish may be condemned by some first-generation Spanish speakers who may claim that the younger generation does not know how to speak Spanish. However, the Spanish that the younger generation speaks may symbolize their individual and group identities.

Peñalosa's fourth topic, attitudes toward English, presents several ideas that are still widely discussed today. For example, some parents who speak Spanish at home feel they may inhibit

their children's acquisition of English. Peñalosa notes that the Chicano movement has challenged that way of thinking by insisting on bilingualism and biculturalism. Yet few parents are aware that acquisition of English is facilitated by a strong grounding in the child's first language.

An effect of the Chicano movement on language attitudes is underscored in Flores and Hopper's research reported by Peñalosa (1980). These researchers found that when 62 adult Chicanos listened to taped speech samples of Standard English and Spanish, Texas Spanish, and accented English, the mean evaluative ratings were consistently lower for the nonstandard than for the standard dialects. The exception to this was for college students who identified themselves as Chicanos. The latter college students' ratings could be reflective of these students strong sense of group identity.

Peñalosa recommends that research in Chicano sociolinguistics be conducted in the following areas:

1. Anglo attitudes toward Spanish-accented speech.
2. Chicano attitudes toward "correct" Spanish speech.
3. Chicano attitudes toward various types of code-mixture and switching.

He also suggests that we find out what is "normal" speech in the Chicano community and that we employ this information as input in teacher training activities. Peñalosa (ibid, p. 182) claims that " . . . in all fairness we must carefully investigate, not merely accuse, the attitudes of teachers toward language varieties and language users." His position underscores a commitment to

improving research and its application to education for students and teachers.

Peñalosa's examination of Chicano sociolinguistics provides us with a comprehensive overview of research up until the 1980s. He constantly reminds the reader of the social, political, cultural, historical, and economic factors that underlie the contexts of sociolinguistic inquiry. His thorough examination of language attitudes, which I presented here, raises questions and issues that are still pertinent to attitudinal research today.

Attitudes and Language Contact

Mejías and Anderson (1988) examined the attitudes toward the use of Spanish in the Río Grande Valley in Texas. The researchers administered a set of questionnaires to a random sample of Mexican American students from math, history, and English classes at Pan American University. They also administered the same instrument to a random sample of Mexican American professionals. The instrument contained 12 items with three items representing one of the following dimensions: Communicative, instrumental, sentimental, and value.

Communicative items are statements related to interpersonal communication in Spanish. For example, "I use Spanish to get along with my parents, relatives, and friends" (ibid, p. 402). Instrumental items are related to personal benefit and practicality of the language. For instance, "I use Spanish because it helps me make money at my job" (ibid, p.402). Sentimental items are related to personal feelings or emotions

related to the use of Spanish. For example, "Knowing Spanish makes me feel good about myself." Value items are those statements that are related to the lasting value or worth that is placed on Spanish. For example, "I use Spanish to keep my traditional values" (ibid, p.402).

Respondents were asked to choose the three most important points from the instrument that best described their reasons for using Spanish. Mejías and Anderson found that the two communicative reasons most often stated by the respondents were: (1) I use Spanish because it is necessary for daily communication, and (2) I use Spanish to get along with my parents, relatives, and friends. The third reason was the value statement "I use Spanish because I do not want to lose my language." The researchers also found that the longer the respondents' residency in the U.S. (i.e., 3rd or 4th generation), the more Spanish was viewed as a value. They found that members from the first and second generation chose more sentimental items than third and fourth generation speakers.

The authors conclude that "Since Spanish has been seen predominantly as a means of communication, we hypothesize that we will see its maintenance along with English in the Río Grande Valley rather than a shift to English" (ibid, p.406). They also hypothesized that any initial shift away from Spanish to English would be moderated after the first two generations. They conclude that the large response toward Spanish as a language for communication "reflects the importance of remaining bilingual for these Mexican-Americans" (ibid, p.406).

Mejías and Anderson's distinction between students and professionals allowed for a view of Hispanics from different walks of life. The student group had more of a tendency to give more importance to value reasons (23.5%) than the professional group (19.6%). Another interesting distinction would have been to examine the students' responses based upon their majors, something I plan on doing in a subsequent study.

It is important to underscore the notion of geographical context in Mejías and Anderson's research. The degree of language contact between Spanish and English in this region is much higher than in other regions of the United States. Mejías and Anderson are aware of this distinction and recommend further systematic investigation of language attitudes toward Spanish usage in the Rio Grande Valley. Research conducted in other areas of the United States will quite possible yield different results.

Language Attitudes and Sociocultural Relations

Galindo (1993, p.77) claims that language attitude research provides us with "valuable insights into language contact phenomena, including language maintenance of Spanish, language shift toward English, language loyalty, and ethnic and social identity inextricably linked to linguistic choice". Her research touches on all of these areas. Galindo also manages to expand upon Peñalosa's (1980) typology of language attitudes by adding: (a) attitudes toward one's own language variety; (b) attitudes of other Chicanos regarding other Chicano's language varieties; (c) attitudes of Anglos regarding Chicanos' language varieties; and

(d) attitudes of Chicanos regarding Anglos' language varieties. She expands upon this typology by adding (e) attitudes of Chicanos regarding the language variety of Mexicans and (f) attitudes of Chicanos regarding African Americans' language varieties.[1]

Galindo's research was carried out in two bilingual speech communities located in Austin, Texas. She examined primarily two areas: (1) language attitudes toward Spanish and English varieties; and (2) provided a linguistic description of the language varieties that exist within two communities among speakers who are primarily English dominant.

Galindo interviewed 30 adolescents (15 females and 15 males) ranging from 14 to 19 years of age. The majority (77%) was third generation. More than half of the informants (57%) described themselves as English dominant and almost half (43%) as bilingual. Not one informant described him/her self as Spanish dominant. Galindo points out a very interesting gender difference in that "73% of the females compared to 13% of the males said that they were bilingual" (ibid, p. 82). Galindo gathered this information through interviews with the students. The interviews were carried out in homes, a restaurant, a recreation center, and a Catholic church hall. The interviews lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes.

A majority of the adolescents (76%) reported that they codeswitched. It was interesting to note that again the gender differences were significant. Of the seven respondents who

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[1] It should be noted that Peñalosa actually listed seven types of attitudinal concerns regarding language (see p.35)

reported having negative feelings about codeswitching, five of them were males. The author indicates that males were not as receptive or as positive toward Spanish use. The following are quotes that exemplify this notion:

> I don't wanna use that language because people will make fun of me and they're gonna go, 'Well, you know Spanish, you're part of those wetbacks[2] that come over here and all they wanna do is work,' and you get stereotyped with a class just because you know a language. (ibid, p. 86)

> I don't know why I never liked it. I understand it well but I don't like to speak it. They tried to give it to me in school but I didn't want it. (ibid, p. 86)

Negative attitudes were also expressed by some females. For instance, one mentioned that she may speak Spanish with friends in front of Whites or Blacks to "show off", but that it was "uncool" to speak Spanish with parents (ibid, p. 87).

Some of the more positive comments mentioned by females included information regarding cultural events (*las fiestas patrias*, national holidays), being proud of knowing Spanish, and the importance of future generations knowing Spanish so they would not make cultural and linguistic faux pas.

Galindo comes to the disturbing, but not too surprising conclusion that "The Chicano-Mexican situation that currently exists in East Austin and Montopolis strongly suggests a high correlation between language attitudes and social behavior; one either mistreats people or not on the basis of how one evaluates

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[2]derogatory term used for illegal aliens.

their speech" (ibid, p. 92). Though Galindo expresses hope for the maintenance of Spanish in these communities, she warns that unless Mexican-Chicano relations improve and parents make conscious decisions about teaching Spanish to their children, " . . .the fate of the Spanish language will continue to decline, as conveyed by people's attitudes toward and reactions to the language and its speakers" (p.96). Her research, within its context, supports this statement.

Attitudes Toward Linguistic Variation

Rosaura Sánchez' (1993) discussion of language variation in the Southwest contains both a sociolinguistic perspective on language variation and her perspective on language variation from the point of view of a Chicana. She begins her discussion by underscoring the fact that languages are always changing. They all have different varieties that have evolved over time to meet the sociolinguistic realities of the peoples who speak them. Sánchez lists several types of linguistic change that Spanish has undergone over the centuries in different countries. Among these are changes in the sound, the lexicon, and the grammar. These linguistic changes are clearly accompanied by attitudes regarding them.

Sánchez provides several examples in both Spanish and English to exemplify changes in the sound system. For instance, the word for chicken in Spanish *pollo* [poyo] is pronounced differently by Spanish speakers in different parts of the world. Likewise, the word "schedule" in English is pronounced in

different manners depending on the region of the world. Speakers of any language are aware of such differences when meeting people who speak the same language (but a different variety). The speakers of certain varieties may exhibit clear signs of their negative attitudes toward other varieties. For example, it is quite common for children to tease peers who speak a variety that differs from their own.

Vocabulary in Spanish also is quite varied. For example, in California someone might refer to a swimming pool as an *alberca*. Yet in other places (i.e., Spain) it might be referred to as a *piscina*. Sánchez provides the example of the various terms used for peanuts (*cacahuate, maní, cacahuete*). She poses the question: Are people wrong in using one term and not the other? She answers that each term is appropriate for the region where it is used. However, such acceptance of linguistic variation is not shared by members of all speech communities.

Grammar is also something that is widely varied. For instance, even though the words *ansí* (thus), and *truje* (I brought) were words once used by literary scholars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they are no longer recognized as part of the "prestige variety". The speakers of Spanish who to this day maintain these words and grammatical structures may be criticized by their teachers for not speaking "proper" Spanish.

Sánchez provides very interesting examples of terms that have changed due to language contact, migration, and invasion. Then she presents the reader with the underlying question of her paper (to which she already has the answer): Is language variation

a linguistic problem for Chicanos, or is the problem a societal one? She notes that if Chicanos use the word *troca* or *troque* (pick-up truck) instead of the standard *camioneta*, they "are dismissed as ignorant Spanish-speaking peasants" (p.76). However, Sánchez indicates that Spanish speakers are not criticized for using words that are of Arabic origin such as *almohada* (pillow) and *azafrán* (saffron). Thus, it appears that Chicanos are criticized only for certain varieties of Spanish.

All varieties of a language may be "linguistically valid", but the status that they are afforded is socially determined. This determination usually is decided upon by commissions, schools, and academies that are established by those in power to create and implement language policies. Sánchez notes that these policies are usually disseminated and advocated by educational institutions and state apparatuses. In this form the policies might look somewhat benign and appear that they are created by consensus. However, policies for language use also have been known to be implemented in more extreme ways (i.e., Franco in Spain, and the U.S. in Puerto Rico).

Sánchez posits the notion that in the United States it is not a question of picking one variety over another. There are numerous varieties and registers of Spanish. She advocates becoming competent in many. Learning to shift in varieties does not signify losing the variety that is most natural for oneself. In fact, she describes an educated native speaker as one who has "the ability to shift from one variety to another according to the circumstances, at will and at one's pleasure" (p.78).

Finally, Sánchez underscores the political nature of language by encouraging Spanish speakers to be ready, willing, and able to defend themselves on numerous discursive levels. She notes in her final paragraph: "As long as we are not the dominant group, others can put us down and dismiss us for social, racial, ethnic, and even linguistic reasons. Let us not give anyone that pleasure" (p.80).

In Carrasco and Riegelhaupt's (1994) meta analysis[3] on a Chicano teacher's identity crisis during an immersion program in Guanajuato, Mexico, they address several sociolinguistic issues pertaining to the bilingual teacher. The issue of attitudes toward linguistic variation was quite evident in their research. They found that the Mexican host families had different expectations for American guests who were of Hispanic heritage. These expectations were exhibited in the types of discourse and correction strategies employed by Mexican host families with the Mexican American students. The host families were much more apt to correct errors of Mexican American students than they were the Anglo American students' errors. This same phenomenon is noted in other research with native Spanish speakers from the United States studying in Colombia (Seelye, 1993).

The manner in which Carrasco and Riegelhaupt's research was conducted has great pedagogical implications for the instruction of bilingual native Spanish speakers. In their study the students were involved in several activities that led to

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[3] For an explanation of Meta Analysis as employed in the context of this research, please refer Carrasco & Riegelhaupt's (1994) paper.

greater metalinguistic awareness. For example, the students maintained interactive journals, they audio taped and transcribed interviews with their host families, they analyzed their transcriptions (based on a model provided by program directors/instructors), and they were interviewed by the instructors at the beginning, middle, and end of their program in Guanajuato. These activities enabled the students, in a variety of ways, to develop the four basic skills in Spanish and a metalinguistic awareness of Spanish. The awareness and skill development that result from such practices are highly desirable in SNS programs.

Summary of Attitudinal Research

In this section I have noted some of the more outstanding commentaries and research on language attitudes toward Spanish and its dialects. Peñalosa's work on attitudes provides an overview of the many different aspects of language attitudes as they pertain to Spanish in the United States. Mejías and Anderson's research focuses on language attitudes and language contact. Galindo's research, grounded in Peñalosa's work, examines language attitudes within sociocultural contexts. Sánchez discusses language attitudes as they pertain to language variation. Similar negative attitudes toward variation are also discussed in Carrasco and Riegelhaupt's research. This important area of language attitudes is critical to the understanding of the further acquisition of Spanish and its maintenance in the United States.

The following section discusses the needs of native Spanish speakers in the Spanish classroom.

The Diverse Needs and Characteristics of Spanish Speakers in the Spanish Language Classroom

There are a number of factors that need to be taken into account when considering how to implement a Spanish course for native speakers. For example, one must consider the level of oral proficiency, literacy skills, cultural differences, varietal differences, and students' desire to maintain their language. As posited in the above section on language attitudes, there can also be very complicated feelings and dynamics surrounding the language and its use (or non-use).

Some students who enter a SNS program may have a high level of proficiency in their understanding of spoken Spanish. However, these same students may experience a high degree of difficulty in producing the spoken language. They may make both grammatical and pronunciation mistakes, while struggling to find the "right" word. If students are experiencing a high degree of difficulty in producing the spoken language, they may revert to English. One SNS instructor (interview, November 1995) commented, "slipping back into English" was common with some of her students when they were trying to express a difficult concept. "Había algunos que no podían defenderse en su lengua. Que en el momento de dificultad, momento en que tenían que expresar un concepto difícil, había varios que se pasaban al inglés." (There were a few that couldn't completely handle their language. In a

difficult moment, one where they had to express a difficult concept, there were some that would switch to English.)

Just as the speaking abilities of the students in a SNS classroom can differ significantly, their literacy skills can also be quite varied. For example, if students are newly arrived immigrants from a Spanish speaking country or foreign exchange students they may possess a high level of literacy. If they are already speakers of the prestigious (standard) variety of Spanish and possess age-appropriate competencies in their language, then this too may enhance their level of literacy. Likewise, a student who was born and raised in the United States with access to bilingual instruction may also be quite literate and use the standard variety when appropriate. However, there are many bilingual students for whom this is not the case. Their academic skills may be high in English, but because they never had access to instruction in Spanish (through bilingual education, etc.) in school, their skills in Spanish may be limited both in the written and spoken forms. It could be the case that the students can perform a variety of different registers in spoken Spanish, but are unable to do the same in writing. An illustration of this notion might be bilinguals who know when and where to say what to whom. They know exactly what is appropriate to say and when it is appropriate. They also may possess a very sophisticated domain specific vocabulary that they will employ in differing contexts. However, this sophistication may not transfer to situations that require reading and writing.

Barkin (1981a) addressed the issue of bilingual literacy by developing a four semester program for bilingual university students. She also developed a diagnostic/proficiency exam to be used in conjunction with the four semester program, thus making it possible for students to begin the program at the appropriate level. She claims the "Criteria for developing literacy will include such factors as social-class linguistic variation, geographical variation, individual student interests and abilities, and materials development" (ibid, p. 1). Indeed, because bilingual students come from such different backgrounds, these contexts must be taken into consideration.

Spanish exists within many cultures and in many varieties. Having such a broad range of dialects and cultural backgrounds in one classroom can be a challenge for the SNS instructor, especially one who does not have a wide repertoire of knowledge of the different varieties and cultures in which Spanish is employed on a daily basis. In one class it is not unusual to have students from several different countries and/or from several parts of the United States. These students, as in any class, bring with them a wide range of capabilities.

Students who participate in SNS courses also vary in their desire to maintain the Spanish that they speak. This relates to the issue of language attitudes. It also relates to the transmission of language across generations (Fishman, 1991). If the transmission of the heritage language is not occurring in the home, it is unlikely that schools will be very successful in its transmission. In fact, researchers have found that what may be

occurring in the Hispanic community is a language shift (Floyd, 1985; Hernández-Chávez, 1995). This language shift presents a clear challenge for SNS instructors.

Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (GIDS) is a model that plots the eight stages in reversing language shift, yet only some of them pertain to language acquisition in school settings. Beginning with the degree of greatest severity, the necessary stages are as follows (read from the bottom up):

1. Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.
2. Local/regional mass media and governmental services.
3. The local/regional (i.e., non-neighborhood)work sphere, both among the language's native speakers and non-native speakers.

4b. Public schools for children, offering some instruction via the languages, but substantially under another language's curricular and staffing control.

4a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under the language's curricular and staffing control.

II. *RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment*

5. Schools for literacy acquisition in the language, for the old and the young, but not in lieu of compulsory education.
6. The intergenerational and demographically concerned home-family-neighborhood activities (this stage is crucial for maintenance).
7. Cultural interaction primarily involving the community-based older generation.
8. Reconstruction and adult acquisition as a second language.

I. *RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)* (p. 395)

As noted by Fishman (1991) in his above scale, and by Marshall (1994), expanding the domains of a language is an effort that requires the participation of many players. Not only does this include the self-affirmation by the speakers in their local, regional, and national lives, it also includes the participation of the government, media, and other influential entities.

The diverse and distinct needs of native Spanish speakers have been documented by linguists and educators. These needs range from lack of specific linguistic knowledge to issues of self esteem related to the heritage language. For example, the SNS student may extend /é/ to /ie/ in situations where it is not grammatically correct (in standard Spanish) to do so. Examples include mistakes such as *piensamos* instead of *pensamos* (we think or we thought) and *pierdamos* instead of *perdamos* (we lost). Another observation is the change of -mos to -nos in the last syllable. For instance, *queríanos* in place of *queríamos* (we wanted or we loved). The same could occur in the already mentioned words with vocalic changes (Solé, 1981).

Students, at times, are reluctant to register for SNS courses because they do not see themselves as native speakers of Spanish. Villa (1995) put forth the notion that calling SNS courses by that particular name could alienate some of those students who do not consider themselves native speakers of Spanish due to their predominant use of the English language, or their use of codeswitching and a Spanish that is unique to their

region. Villa (ibid, 1995) claims that some students don't register for SNS courses because they view their Spanish as "mocho". That is to say, they speak broken Spanish. This self-concept of speaking "mocho" can be enhanced if the teacher of the course takes the approach that their students possess a variety of Spanish that is incorrect and unacceptable. Gonzales-Berry (1979, p. 201) suggests that this "eradication approach" should be replaced with one that is more sensitive to the "students' affective ties to the native dialect."

Native Spanish speakers who take traditional Spanish courses that are designed to teach Spanish as a foreign language face a number of obstacles. These students generally feel unchallenged because they already possess much of the vocabulary that is taught in beginning and intermediate courses. In addition to feeling unchallenged, they may resist the prescriptive grammatical approach to teach them grammar that they have already internalized (Gonzales-Berry, 1979). Valdés (1981) suggests that part of this resistance may be due to the fact that many texts reflect an approach taken to teach Spanish as a foreign language. Instead of being able to develop the oral proficiency at the level at which many SNS students find themselves (which is usually far beyond the non-native student in a first or second year class), the student often is engaged in activities designed for the monolingual student who is trying to understand the "new" Spanish grammar. The students' frustration can be augmented if the teacher also uses constant contrasts between English and Spanish. Valdés (1981, p. 10) suggests "that

in teaching a second or additional dialect, materials must be used which are based on a contrast between the *two dialects* [italics added] in question."

Attitudes of Non-Native Speakers Toward Native Speakers in Class

Non-native speakers often feel intimidated by having native speakers in the same class. Indeed, this was the initial response of some non-native speakers in a class I taught in the Fall of 1995. Some of the students remarked that they didn't think it was "fair" that native speakers were participating in the class because they already knew all there was to know. In fact, the native speakers struggled equally (in my opinion) with assignments involving reading and writing. Many times their internalized grammar was of a non-standard dialect, so these students were also faced with learning how to employ the standard grammar in written and spoken form. Indeed, it is an ironic joke among Chicanos that when they take Spanish they often receive Ds or Fs (R. L. Carrasco, personal communication, October, 10 1996).

Another obstacle that a native speaker may face in a class for non-native speakers is the of lack of cultural understanding, on the most part, of the non-native speakers. In an interview with a SNS student, I asked if she had ever participated in a class where there were non-native speakers. She said that she had been in such a class and that she found that the non-native speaking students not only had different needs linguistically, but that they

made fun of her language and her culture (interview, November 16,1995).

In this section I have discussed some of the diverse needs and characteristics of native Spanish speakers. As noted above, these needs and characteristics range from the cognitively based areas such as literacy skills in Spanish to the affective areas that often times underscore how our students approach and learn Spanish. The areas discussed were: (1) levels of proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing; (2) students' self concept of language proficiency; and (3) attitudes of non-native speakers toward native-speakers in the same class.

In the following section I will discuss the historical foundations of Spanish for Native Speakers programs in the United States.

Historical Foundations of Spanish for Native Speakers Programs

There has long been an interest in how to teach Spanish to students who already speak Spanish. In fact, when Valdés and Teschner (1977) completed a bibliography on the subject, they discovered that this interest had been documented in educational circles for at least four decades. Despite such a history of interest in the subject, it was not until 1961 that a model was devised that would serve as the true catalyst for Spanish for Native Speakers (SNS) programs (formerly referred to as Spanish for Spanish Speakers programs). This model was created in Dade

County, Miami, Florida, home of 15,600 Spanish speaking children at that time.

The program in Dade County was begun for Cuban immigrants. However, the social context of these immigrants should be noted. Many of the immigrants from Cuba during that time were well-educated and of upper socioeconomic status. Thus, the political and economic influence that this immigrant population was able to exert must also be considered when examining how such a program could be successfully implemented at such an early date (even before the enactment of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968). In fact, some scholars posit the notion that the program initiated in Dade County in 1961 was indeed a catalyst for bilingual education (R. L. Carrasco, personal communication, September 26,1996).

The program that began in Dade County stipulated that any public school which enrolled 100 or more Spanish speakers must offer SNS programs to their Spanish-speaking students. This program operated in 101 different public schools in Dade County and served the previously mentioned 15,600 Spanish speaking children.

Today it is estimated that there are 1.3 million Hispanics in Dade County, many of whom consider themselves bilingual (Barry, 1996). However, Barry goes on to say that currently only two out of every hundred Dade County high school graduates are fluent in Spanish. The discrepancy between Barry's statement that many of the Hispanics in Dade County consider themselves bilingual and the statistics that he provides regarding the high school

graduates reflects a common phenomenon that can be observed in several regions throughout the United States. Many bilinguals only employ their Spanish at home and in a few other casual domains in public life (i.e., the neighborhood grocery store). Thus, the ability of these speakers to produce written documents or perform well in their native language in the public domain may be limited.

In 1972, the Executive Council of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP) presented a report that included a rationale and recommendations for teaching SNS courses in schools and universities (Roca, 1992). Their recommendations and rationale were based on the program that began in Dade County in 1961. The AATSP stated goals that were not intended to perpetuate what they saw as academic/elitist bilingualism. Rather, they proposed to close the gap that they saw between the "real world of bilingual people" and the above mentioned academic/elitist bilingualism. Thus, the rationale for the AATSP was not the acculturation of native Spanish speakers, but the recognition by the Spanish teaching profession that the maintenance of the Spanish spoken natively in the United States was a subject that merited attention. The AATSP (1972) recommended:

> Whenever in the United States there are pupils or students for whom Spanish is the mother tongue, at whatever grade level from kindergarten to the baccalaureate, there be established in the schools and colleges special sections for developing literacy in Spanish and using it to reinforce or compliment other areas of the curriculum, with

> corresponding specialized materials, methods and teachers. (p. 1)

This recommendation created new challenges for schools and Spanish professors. Indeed, it was an overt challenge to local, state, and national language policies. The AATSP (1972) stated that it would:

> . . . no longer accept the embarrassing anomaly of a language policy for American education which on one hand seeks to encourage and develop competence in Spanish among those for whom it is a second language, and on the other hand, by open discouragement, neglect, and condescension, destroys it for those who speak it as a mother tongue. (p.1)

Though the AATSP stated that this rationale was an obvious one, it still meets with resistance in some schools, colleges, and universities. This could be partially related to the academic/elitist bilingualism to which the AATSP referred.

The AATSP proposed the following as the three main objectives of SNS programs: (1) to deepen the student's sense of cultural-ethnic identity with his/her group, and through him/her to contribute to that groups' effort to obtain cultural self-determination; (2) to provide the student with full command of standard Spanish so that he/she may achieve his/her full potential as a bilingual person; and (3) to reinforce selectively through Spanish any or all of the other areas of the curriculum in order to increase the student's understanding and perspective in those areas. These objectives (primarily the first two) are prevalent in many SNS texts today.

Central to the promotion of the above objectives is the issue of language attitudes. Peñalosa (1980) states that there are minimally seven aspects that could be listed as attitudinal concerns for Chicano students. They include:

1. His attitudes toward his own speech.
2. Other Chicanos' attitudes toward his speech.
3. His attitudes toward other Chicanos' speech.
4. Anglos' attitudes toward Chicano speech in general.
5. Anglos' attitudes toward his speech.
6. His attitudes toward the speech of Anglos.
7. His feelings about others' attitudes. (p.180)

I contend that we could substitute the word Chicano with any other Spanish-speaking group and generate the same list. We could also include the word *teacher* in several parts of the list and create some very relevant questions for teachers of SNS courses to consider. For example, What is the teacher's attitude toward his/her students' speech? What is the teacher's attitude about his/her own speech? Questions such as these are critical to SNS courses and help to create the framework of both the texts and the way the course is carried out.

The question of language attitudes is also directly related to the first objective indicated by the AATSP (deepened sense of identity as member of a cultural-ethnic group and cultural self-determination). They support the students developing self confidence as speakers, writers, and readers of their "own kind"

of Spanish before developing standard Spanish. This process could take a few weeks, months, or even a year. This first objective seems to be the foundation for any learning that is to follow.

The AATSP's recommendations also reflect what Krashen (1982) later proposed as the Affective Filter Hypothesis which he identifies the three following affective variables as important to second language acquisition:

1. *Motivation.* Learners with high motivation generally do better.
2. *Self confidence.* Learners with self confidence and a good self-image tend to be more successful.
3. *Anxiety.* Low personal anxiety and low classroom anxiety are more conducive to second language learning.

Though Krashen proposes these variables for second language acquisition, they also appear to be relevant in second dialect acquisition (i.e., the standard dialect), and continued first language development.

Optimally, the teacher of an SNS course should have command of both standard Spanish and an awareness of the dialects spoken by his or her students. However, this fluency may not be realistic given the heterogeneity of the Spanish speaking population in this country. Nonetheless, the teacher should at least possess an attitude of acceptance and interest in students'

language varieties. Such an attitude would facilitate the students' learning by lowering the Affective Filter.

Riegelhaupt (1994, p. 78) states that using the students' native language has numerous advantages for the students. "These include cultural, psychological, social, linguistic, and academic benefits." Several of the advantages she notes are closely linked to the Affective Filter. For example, the psychological benefits are that the student develops "a strong self-concept, through the acceptance of the home language as a vital, significant, and even essential part of the student's identity" (ibid, p.79). These psychological advantages are critical to first language maintenance and second language (or dialect) acquisition.

This section discussed the historical foundations of SNS programs in the United States. It specifically outlined the AATSP's goals for teaching Spanish to native speakers. Related to these goals are other factors that must be considered (i.e., motivation, self confidence, and anxiety). Finally, the benefits of using the students' native language was discussed.

A significant amount of research and textbook development for native Spanish speakers has occurred since the beginning of Spanish for native speakers programs in the 1960s. In the following section I will discuss the evolution and development of textbooks for native Spanish speakers.

Spanish for Native Speakers Texts

Just as there are texts for teaching Spanish as a foreign language, there are texts for teaching native speakers of Spanish.

Over the years, these texts have evolved to address the various needs of native Spanish-speakers. In this section I will provide an overview of this evolution of the SNS text.

The value of knowing standard Spanish is not ignored in SNS curriculum. On the contrary, all of the texts and literature that I have reviewed pertaining to this subject advocate the mastery of the standard. However, different texts exhibit varying degrees of acceptance of the non-standard. Thus, what the specific texts enable and constrain ultimately depends on the approach of the author(s). For example, are they taking an eradication approach, in attempt to raze all dialects except the standard from their classrooms? Or, are they teaching the standard in order to increase the students' repertoire of speech registers and so increase his communicative competence and power in society?

Some of the earlier Spanish for Native Speakers texts (Baker, 1953; Barker, 1971; de León, 1976) were clear attempts to eradicate the native dialects of their students and replace it with the standard Spanish dialect. Gonzales-Berry (1979) notes that though these authors are undoubtedly well-intentioned in their desires to teach their students Spanish of the Real Academia Española, the damage to their students' self-image is a possible result. These texts are full of statements that demonstrate to their students that the language they bring to the classroom is socially unacceptable and incorrect. For example, these authors frequently inform the students "*no se dice así* " (one doesn't say it like that). Even though the teacher and the text say that one doesn't say *troca (pick-up truck)*, it is quite possible

that some students not only understand that particular lexical term for truck, but employ it in their own speech. Thus, the students' dialect becomes stigmatized in their own classroom, perhaps similar to the way it has been in the society at large.

In the late 1970s we begin to see an emergence of texts for SNS that are more sensitive to the affective needs of students. They do not denigrate the language varieties that students bring with them to class, but rather recognize their value and build upon them. One such example is Valdés-Fallis and Teschner's (1978) *Español Escrito*, a SNS text created for college students educated in the United States whose home language is Spanish. In their introduction the authors explicitly state that "at no time is the students' home language treated as a mode of speaking that must be "extirpated" before study can begin" (p.xv). This book is currently in its third edition.

These authors (ibid), both sociolinguists and educators, are sensitive to the fact that most of their students have probably had the majority of their formal education in English. For this reason they provide directions in English in the first couple of chapters in order to provide a transition for the students. After students have had sufficient exposure to reading Spanish on the sentence level, the authors begin to provide instructions in Spanish.

A further example of the authors' sensitivity is exhibited in their efforts to employ a Spanish lexicon that is regionally neutral (i.e., it doesn't favor Arizonan Spanish over New Mexican Spanish). However, this could be interpreted as being overly-

cautious and as not taking full advantage of all learning possibilities. I would like to posit the notion that the students could learn a lot about themselves and each other if regionalisms were discussed and included as a part of the text. For example, why do Northern New Mexicans sometimes employ the word *puela* (a word of French origin) instead of *sartén* (frying pan). There is actually an interesting sociolinguistic/historical explanation that has to do with migration of French-speaking trappers to the area. I would like to suggest that the students' interest in studying Spanish in a classroom environment could be augmented by discussions pertaining to lexical differences such as the one provided above.

The inclusion of lexical terms could also lend to the lowering of the Affective Filter by affirming the students' dialect. Though the authors explicitly state that their text is intended to teach standard Spanish, their students could possibly be more receptive to that variety of Spanish if they also had some representation of regionalisms with which they are already familiar.

In the 1980's we see the appearance of yet more texts for the native speaker (Burunat & Starcevic, 1983; Marqués, 1992; Mejías & Garza-Swan, 1981). The title of Mejías & Garza-Swan's (1981) text, *Nuestro Español* (Our Spanish) is indicative of their approach. These authors view language as part of a social context. They do not contend that using words such as *vide* (I saw) , *muncho* (a lot), or the word for "finger" *deo* (instead of the

standards vi, mucho, and dedo) as a linguistic or grammatical problem. Rather, they suggest that it is more of a *social* problem.

> Si se usan las formas mencionadas primeramente en vez de estas últimas, el hablante se enfrentará a cierto tipo de censura social. Se les debe advertir a los estudiantes que ciertos usos son más aceptados y que es necesario dominar la variante formal del español, ya que así lo requiere la sociedad. (p. xi)
>
> (If one uses the former mentioned words instead of the latter, the speaker will be confronted with a certain type of social censorship. The students should be warned that certain uses are more acceptable and that it is necessary to dominate the formal variety of Spanish since that it what is required by society.)

The authors' warning to the students about language use should not be interpreted as encouragement for the abandonment of the students' language variety. Rather, it is an encouragement for their students to be conscious of when, where, how, and with whom they employ either standard or non-standard Spanish. In other words, it seems that the authors are encouraging the study of sociolinguistic phenomena in conjunction with the study of Spanish.

The authors of *Nuestro Español,* as do authors of other recent texts, also promcte a pedagogy for native speakers that differs from the way Spanish is taught as a foreign language. Many native speakers have already internalized the grammar of Spanish. These authors posit that teaching native speakers grammar in a dogmatic way is no way for the students to learn the standard structure of the Spanish language. They state this

view unequivocally when they say "El propósito de este libro de texto es familiarizar el alumno con la riqueza expresiva del español más que una enseñanza de reglas que no conducen a nada" (p. xii). [The purpose of this text book is to familiarize the student with the expressive richness of Spanish more than a teaching of rules that don't lead to anything.] The authors propose that the language be taught as "a whole" entity instead of what they consider to be an unintegrated confusion of parts.

Other authors have integrated different pedagogical approaches for the teaching of grammar to native speakers. For example, Burunat and Starcevic (1983) do not introduce verb structures until lesson nine. They do focus on the grammatical structures of the Spanish language, but they do so in a way that differs from texts that are designed for non-native speakers. These authors also incorporate into their text a variety of idioms from Spanish-speaking countries. Thus, they are focusing on the Spanish spoken by people in different parts of the world in addition to the teaching of the standard. An additional chapter on anglicisms is also included in this text. The authors note that this chapter is located in the end of the book, but that it could be incorporated into the class whenever it is deemed appropriate.

In the 1990's we have seen the appearance of additional texts designed for the bilingual native Spanish speaker (Alonso, Zaslow, & Villareal, 1996; Samaniego, Alarcón & Rojas, 1995; Samaniego, Otheguy & Alarcón, 1997; Samaniego, Alarcón & Rojas, 1997). Some publishers are publishing series of SNS texts for beginning and intermediate SNS courses, complete with videos,

audiocassettes, and workbooks. Superficially, many of these texts appear to be much like other Spanish texts designed to teach Spanish to non-native speakers: glossy, colorful, and teacher friendly (not teacher-proof). However, when one takes a closer look at the contents of these new SNS texts one realizes that they are indeed texts intended for students who have different needs and cultural experiences.

Samaniego, Otheguy, and Alarcón's (1997) *Tu Mundo* (Your World) is a new beginning text for native speakers. (It is followed by *Nuestro Mundo* , or Our World, an intermediate level text for native speakers.) The content of their text acknowledges the important cultural and linguistic experiences that their students bring to a class. For example, in the first lesson the students are asked to describe how they identify themselves (i.e., Latino or Hispanic). The question posed in the text (How do you identify yourself?), is the title of an essay that explores the different terminology used to identify people. For example, the authors discuss the terms Negroes, Colored, Black, and African American. They then go on the discuss the different terminology used by and for the Spanish-speaking population in the United States. The authors conclude that the terminology really isn't as important as the recognition that different groups receive in regard to their contributions to society. They end by encouraging the students to be proud of their culture.

The particular reading mentioned above also has a one minute and sixteen second video that can be used to accompany it. There are various people in the video of whom the question is

asked "How do you identify yourself?" The interviewees range in age, professions, gender, etc. The last person to speak on the tape is the musician Carlos Santana. He answers by saying that he prefers the term "*individuo*" (individual).

The textual and visual activity can be followed by a comprehension and conversational activity. In the conversation activity the students are encourage to discuss, with a partner, the term that they use to refer to themselves (i.e., Latino, Chicano, etc.). The authors explicitly state that it's important that we all respect the way in which we identify ourselves. The students have to explain why they identify themselves a certain way. They also are invited to explain what the possible advantages and disadvantages are in using a particular term.

Other important aspects of this text that distinguish it from a text that would be used for a non-native class are evident throughout the text. For example, the first section in every grammar unit is titled *¡Lo que ya sabes!* (What you already know!). The title alone acknowledges that the students already have a command of the Spanish language. However, even though the students have an internalized understanding of the grammar, they may not always have a conscious understanding of the grammar that they are able to articulate. The grammar section in this text provides them with the opportunity to learn about standard Spanish grammar. This is consistent with the AATSP's (1972) goal that students develop full command of the standard variety of Spanish in order to realize their full potential as bilingual

individuals. Indeed, this is a general goal for all of the texts that I have discussed thus far.

Sections on non-standard varieties of Spanish are consistent throughout the *Nuestro Mundo*. For example, in the first unit, the authors present a discussion of the language variety *Caló*, a variety that is spoken in some Chicano neighborhoods in the United States (i.e., East Los Angeles, CA). Caló has many words of Náhuatl, English, and Gypsy origins. The authors not only discuss varieties such as Caló, they also provide literature that employs different language varieties with which the students may or may not be familiar. Thus, the authors not only expose the students to the standard, but to many other varieties of Spanish as well.

The authors of another SNS text *Entre Mundos*[4], (Alonso, Zaslow, and Villareal, 1996), explicitly state in their preface that they do not limit their language instruction "to the remediation of errors through practice with spelling and grammar" (p. xi). They claim that most textbooks for this audience tend to do take this eradication approach. However, my review has shown that has not been the case for SNS texts since the 1970s. But not all teachers and students are familiar with these approaches.

Entre Mundos (Between Worlds) is organized in such a way that it builds on experiences that students bring to a classroom. It begins in a similar manner as *Tu Mundo* with a discussion on

[4]This text is currently being used in a Spanish for Native Speakers class at Northern Arizona University.

what it means to be Hispanic. The beginning chapters in the text deal mostly with themes for which most of their students already have a vocabulary. For example, they introduce topics related to the family and community and then branch out to topics such as the university and professions. Discussing topics for which the students are comfortable in terms of content and lexical ability seems like a very effective strategy for maintaining a low Affective Filter in the first few lessons. Indeed, this is consistent with the authors' stated intentions of *building* upon what the students bring with them to the classroom and preparing them to "use language for real-world and academic purposes in culturally appropriate ways" (p. xi).

Entre Mundos contains several sections on language and culture in contact. These sections include topics such as anglicisms, the Cuban community in the United States, the Mexican community in the United States, and the heterogeneity of the Hispanic community in general. These topics serve to help guide both cultural and grammatical discussions. They also "foster a sense of identity and a high level of high self-esteem" (p. xi) in the students. The materials are presented in such a way that they demand the students to reflect on who they are and what they have contributed to the Latino community both individually and collectively.

From my review of current SNS texts I conclude that they are consistent with the following goals (1) deepening the students' sense of cultural and ethnic identity; (2) helping the student to achieve full command of standard Spanish in order to

achieve his/her full potential as a bilingual person; and (3) deepening the students' sense of cultural appreciation that encompasses all Latino cultures. The last point was one not stipulated by the AATSP in 1972. However, it is a characteristic that is reflected in these SNS texts that obviously merits attention.

In this section of my review of the literature I have explored the historical and theoretical underpinnings of the creation of SNS programs and texts, and presented a review of SNS texts from the last four decades. What is most apparent from this examination is the evolution of SNS texts and what these texts enable and constrain. In the first few texts the authors took an eradication approach, thus sometimes denigrating their students' language and culture. However, later texts were more consistent with the guidelines expressed in Dade County, Florida in 1961 and by the AATSP in 1972. Textbooks today still tend to reflect these guidelines, and perhaps have even enhanced them.

The interest of how to teach Spanish to bilingual native speakers of Spanish is one that has been demonstrated in research (Merino, Trueba, & Samaniego, 1993; Roca & Lipski, 1993; Valdés, Lozano, & García-Moya, 1981) and in the creation of texts for native speakers (Baker, 1966; Valdés & Teschner, 1978; Mejías & Garza-Swan, 1981; Samaniego, Otheguy, & Alarcón, 1997). Given the growth of the Hispanic population in the United States, textbooks for bilingual native Spanish speakers will most likely continue to be developed. These texts address the needs of a large portion of our population by considering both the cultural

and the linguistic diversity of the Spanish-speaking population in the United States. The material and topics are presented in such a way that they encourage language maintenance and further acquisition as well as cultural pride among students. These aspects of SNS texts are what distinguish them from Spanish as a foreign language texts.

In a multicultural society our attention to issues of language maintenance and cultural identity are of the utmost importance if our society is going to move forward in an equitable manner for all citizens. Spanish for native speaker texts in the 1990's seem to acknowledge and affirm this notion. The continued focus on these issues and the further development of theory on which to base SNS text development will be critical for progress in this field.

Summary

In this review of the literature, I examined (a) language attitudes as they pertain to Spanish, (b) the diverse needs of Spanish speakers in the Spanish language classroom, (c) the historical foundations of Spanish for native speakers programs, and (e) a review of Spanish for native speakers texts.

It was evident in the discussion of language attitudes that it is a topic with many layers. Peñalosa (1980) discusses the theme from a variety of view points. What was most striking about his presentation is his ability to articulate his awareness of how interwoven themes of racism, classism, and historical factors are when discussing language. Carrasco (1981, p. 192)

notes that Peñalosa's book is "at once a history book, a sociological work, a political treatise, a sociolinguisitc introduction, and a volume on the culture of the Chicano." All of these themes are underscored in the later research of Mejías and Anderson (1988), Galindo (1993), Sánchez (1993), and Riegelhaupt (1994).

The needs and characteristics of native Spanish speakers cover the gamut. The response to this wide range has been the creation of textbooks and curriculum designed especially for native Spanish speakers. These items have been documented for at least four decades (Valdés-Fallis & Teschner, 1977). The textbooks and approaches to teaching Spanish to native speakers have also evolved considerably over the decades. These texts and approaches differ markedly from those designed for non-native speakers.

Chapter Three contains the presentation of the methodology and procedures employed in this study.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methods and procedures that were used in conducting this study. Included are: (a) a literature review on the nature of the research; (b) data collection tools and procedures; (c) methods of analysis.

Research Questions

1) What are the language attitudes of native speakers;
   a) Toward the language itself?
   b) Toward his/her own speech?
   c) Toward other native speakers speech?
   d) His/her feelings about others' attitudes toward Spanish? (Peñalosa, 1980);
2) What are the characteristics of the language learning/acquisition experience;
   a) Where did they learn/acquire Spanish?
   b) When did they learn/acquire Spanish?
   c) With whom did they learn/acquire Spanish?
3) How do these individuals maintain their Spanish language skills;
   a) Where do they speak Spanish?
   b) With whom do they speak Spanish?
   c) Do they use Spanish in their community?
4) What are the reasons for participating in SNS course.

Nature of Research

Glaser and Strauss (1980, p.21) state that "Generating theory involves a process of research." I believe the key word here is process. Ethnographic research and grounded theory do not mean that you state your hypothesis and test for significance. Instead, the ethnographer is interested in the entire process of collecting and analyzing data. The hypothesis is only stated after the data collection and analysis are made. It may be that the ethnographer becomes sensitized to certain theoretical relevances when in the field and that these begin to form clusters in which observations are categorized. Later, during the analysis, these clusters may form the emerging theories generated by the inquiry. This process is sometimes labeled by researchers in the "hard sciences" as "anecdotal", "unsystematic", or "unfocused". Glaser and Strauss (ibid) note that people dedicated to the verification of theory by quantitative methods "inhibit the generation of theory". Ethnographic methodology therefore enables the researcher to reveal critical issues that may not be expressed in current educational theory, but may be emerging in research and theory development in the social sciences (Carrasco, 1981; Erickson, 1977).

According to Lutz (1981), Spradley (1982) and Wolcott, (1982), one does not have to be an anthropologist to carry out ethnographic research. However, Lutz (1981) does provide four criteria for the person who will indulge him/her self in this genre of research: (1) The researcher must be a trained ethnographer, (2) The researcher must have entry into the

educational system, (3) The researcher must have a cross-cultural perspective of the subject, and (4) The researcher should possess the ability to generate "thick description" and bring an anthropological model and theory to bear on that ethnography.

For Lutz' first criteria he would like to see proof of this training exhibited by ethnographic publications, a dissertation, or a thesis at least. I meet this criteria.

The second through fourth criteria are quite important to the ethnographer. Entry into the field is essential to the success of an ethnography. Ethnographers have the ability to enable or constrain individuals and relationships. The participants in a study have the right to be aware of both the benefits and the possible harm that could come to them from the study. This honesty is only ethical and fair. For instance, if the ethnographer is allowed access to cultural information that is seen as sacred to the culture that he/she is observing, the ethnographer has the obligation to tell the people exactly how their sacred knowledge will be protected. After an explanation of the nature and purpose of the research, I explained to the participants, both verbally and in writing, that confidentiality would be maintained throughout the study .

The third criteria, having a cross-cultural perspective, could explain why ethnographers typically spend so much time in the field. It also enables the ethnographer to make cross-cultural analysis of certain phenomena. For example, how does schooling look in private educational institutions as compared to public institutions. The ethnographer needs knowledge of both cultures

in order to make any comparison. As as Spanish teacher of mostly non-native speakers I have this perspective.

Finally, the ability to write "thick description" is what shapes ethnographic theory. However, thick description does not mean that the ethnographer is obliged to write about everything. On the contrary, as Wolcott (1990, p.28) states, "If we were not selective in our focus, we could not produce our accounts: Without some idea of what is to be described, there can be no description." Yet, even though the description is selectively descriptive, the ethnographer should give readers enough information about how the research was conducted to enable them to discount the findings (Taylor and Bogdan in Wolcott, 1990). In this study my selective description was guided by my research questions. It was further guided by the emergence of themes related to the questions.

A multimethod approach was employed in this study. Quantitative data was compiled from the surveys, fieldnotes, and the interviews. Miles and Huberman's (1994) strategies of using qualitative analysis of individual interviews and presentation of data was utilized on a limited basis. The researcher also employed the use of a computer program, Data Collector (Turner & Handler, 1992), in order to chunk and code interview data for analysis. This approach allowed for rich contextual information to be presented in a coherent manner through the use of narration and matrices.

This study also employed a case study approach with an exploratory descriptive design. Yin (1993, p.31) claims that a

major rationale for employing this design is when the investigation must cover:

> both the *phenomenon* and the *context* within which the phenomenon is occurring either because (a) the context is hypothesized to contain important explanatory variables about the phenomenon or (b) the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident.

This investigation took place within its real-life context. Agar (1986) suggests that there is a need to learn about a world (or a context) that you don't understand by encountering it first hand and making some sense out of it. However, it should be underscored that the researcher is interpreting the data. This interpretation is not limited to just the researcher. The participants and the intended audience of the research are also involved in the interpretation of the data. Wolcott (1988, p. 217) stresses that the "description and interpretation, rather than preoccupation with research 'procedures,' are the core of the ethnographic enterprise."

Triangulation in this study was achieved by the employment of (1) participant observation, (2) semi-structured interviews, and (3) Likert-scaled and open-ended survey responses. These multiple sources of information are key components to case study research. Yin (1993, p. 69) notes that you have successfully triangulated your data if you "ask the same question of different sources of evidence, and all sources point to the same answer".

The instrumentation for this multimethod study consisted of (a) a quantitative survey with closed-ended questions using a

Likert scale; (b) open-ended survey questions; (c) open-ended questions for qualitative individual interviews; and (d) participant observation fieldnotes in a Spanish for Native Speakers class.

There are five tenets that anthropological researchers must take into consideration (Vásquez, 1995, personal communication). The first tenet is that of cultural relativism. The data must only be considered in the context in which they were gathered. For example, data gathered with Guatemalan Highland indigenous farmers cannot be considered relevant for coastal *ladino* farmers in the same country. The second tenet is that the researcher should not attempt to superimpose his/her culture on the culture that he/she is studying. Third, the researcher should take a holistic scope of whatever it is that he/she is studying. The recognition that everything in the universe is linked to something else is paramount. Thus, there is less of an attempt to focus on one or two particular elements of a culture without considering the whole picture. Fourth, ethnographers use research techniques that allow them to "discern how ordinary people in a particular setting make sense of the experiences in their everyday lives" (Wolcott, 1988, p. 191). This discernment will more than likely require time in that setting. Finally, the ethnographer must possess both the emic and etic perspective. The emic view is that of the participants under study, and the etic view is the perspective of the researcher. For example, the researcher may learn the group's language in order to facilitate this process. However, the researcher must also be able to maintain his/her

own perspective. Otherwise, the researcher may be accused of "going native". This is a fine line for the ethnographer to walk, and can often create a lot of tension.

Participant observation is a key component of fieldwork in educational anthropology. Indeed, it would be difficult for the educational anthropologist to conduct fieldwork without employing this technique. The fieldnotes that the researcher takes in his/her research setting are critical in that they provide the researcher with important details that might otherwise be forgotten. Though some researchers (Rudestam & Newton, 1992) place little reliance on the use of field notes, the importance of them to educational ethnographers cannot be denied. Fieldnotes assist the researcher in providing the "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) demanded by ethnographic research.

The information derived from participant observation fieldnotes provides new and important vantage points that help the researcher to "understand the significance to the group members of their own behavior and that of others . . ." (Taft, 1988, p. 59). However, the information derived from fieldnotes would be highly suspect if it was the sole source of information. Other techniques must be employed in order to gain an understanding of the cultural and personal meanings attached to actions in which the researcher participates and observes.

Critical to the interview process is the ability of the researcher to become a student. This ability can greatly assist the researcher in understanding phenomena observed in the field. The lack of it can result in an interpretation of data from an

outsider's point of view. Thus, it is essential that the researcher is able to develop a sense of the insider's point of view. Much of this development is dependent upon the researcher becoming a student and learning to see the world through a different cultural lens.

Language is the cornerstone in qualitative research. The researcher talks with informants, takes field notes, conducts interviews, employs participant observation, and eventually uses language for analysis and theory development. We can see that the interview process is just one component of the process. Nevertheless, it is an important technique because it allows the researcher to ask questions and discover meanings encoded in the language of the informants (Spradley, 1979).

The semi-structured interview is somewhat flexible in nature in comparison to some of the other existing interviewing techniques. The researcher identified this process as one that will allow her to explore themes with the informants that may not exist on the original interview protocol. This flexibility is part of the non-linear process necessitated by this particular type of research. Agar (in Wolcott, 1991, p. 50) describes the process of ethnographic research in the following manner:

> You learn something ("collect some data"), then you try to make sense out of it ("analysis"), then you go back and see if the interpretation makes sense in light of new experience ("collect more data"), then you refine you interpretation ("more analysis"), and so on. The process is dialectic, not linear.

Semi-structured interviews are representative of the dialectic paradigm suggested by Agar.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants in this study at times and places convenient for them. If follow-up interviews were necessary, the researcher made further arrangements. However, it was anticipated that many questions generated by the semi-structured interviews could be addressed as a group.

Data Collection Procedures

This section describes the data collection procedures of this study. The following topics are discussed: (a) location and population of study; (b) the nature of the survey; (c) the nature of the interviews; (d) participant observations and field note practices; (e) free listing exercise; and (d) the four participants in the case studies.

Location and Population of Study

This study took place at a community college and a university in Flagstaff, Arizona (a community of approximately 50,000 inhabitants). Eighty-two Hispanics participated in the survey (including the four case-study participants). Eighty of the participants were students, two were not. The participation of these individuals was solicited from the following places and organizations: (1) Spanish 101 and 102 courses at Northern Arizona University (NAU); (2) Chicano Literature class at NAU; (3) Spanish Composition class for Native Spanish Speakers at NAU; (4) Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanos de Atzlán (MEChA); (5) League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); (6) Hispanic students

in the Center for Excellence in Education (CEE) at NAU who are participating in a mentoring program in that department, and (7) Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers (SHPE). See Table 1 for how many people from each group participated in the study.

Convenience sampling was also used with the participants from Spanish courses at NAU, MEChA, LULAC, SHPE, CEE, and with the four case studies. Convenience sampling means that the participants in the study were not chosen randomly. The information obtained from these students provided additional data on language attitudes of native Spanish speakers. A total of 82 students from these groups participated in the survey. Please refer to Table 1 for a complete breakdown of how many people from each group participated.

Table 1

Defining Characteristics of Research Participants

Name of Group	Number of Participants	Spanish-Speaking home	male	female
MEChA	21	17	4	17
LULAC	6	6	2	4
HHS	11	9	1	10
CEE	7	6	1	6
SHPE	17	9	14	3
First Year Spanish	6	2	2	4
Chicano Literature	3	2	1	2
Composition for Native Speakers	7	7	3	4
Case-study participants from Community College	4	4	2	2

The criteria for the participating in the survey were: (1) participation in any of the groups listed in Table 1, and (2) must be of Hispanic heritage.

Nature of the Survey

The survey consisted of: (a) seven questions regarding demographic data, (b) four items where the participants were asked to self-assess their Spanish in the areas of listening, speaking, reading, and writing, (c) 21 five-point Likert-scaled close ended responses designed to measure attitudes toward

Spanish (see Table 2 for Likert scale), and (d) seven open-ended survey questions.

Table 2

Likert Scale

Spanish is an important part of Latino/Chicano culture.				
1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

The survey was designed over a period of six months. The researcher designed the first draft while participating in a research design course. The researcher used a language self assessment scale in listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Carrasco & Riegelhaupt, 1994). The researcher also consulted a series of Spanish attitude questionnaires designed by Silva-Corvalán (1994). It was in those questionnaires that the researcher identified statements such as "I feel more comfortable speaking Spanish" (p. 233), and "It (Spanish) makes me feel good about myself" (p 236). These two items were modified and used in the the closed-ended responses. Other items were added beginning with the phrase "I feel comfortable". For example, "I feel comfortable speaking Spanish to my family" (item 7).

The open-ended questions on the survey were the following:

1. How did you learn Spanish?

2. With whom do you speak Spanish?
3. Where do you speak Spanish?
4. What are (or what would be) your reasons for participating in a Spanish for Native Speakers course?
5. For you, what defines a native speaker of Spanish?
6. How do non-Hispanic students in your Spanish classes react to you being in class?
7. Are there times when you speak only Spanish? Tell me about them.

The open-ended survey questions helped the researcher to identify characteristics and attitudes of the participants that could not be identified with the Likert scale. They also provided some initial information that facilitated the personal interviews with 14 of the participants.

Individual Interviews

A total of 14 native speakers of Spanish participated in interviews. The interviews with these students took place in restaurants, the college learning center, the university library, offices, and a participant's home. Three interviews were conducted with teachers of Spanish for Native Speakers. (See Table 3)

Table 3

Interview Schedule

Participant Name	Age	NAU Student	SNS Student	SNS Teacher	Date of Interview	Place of Interview
Pilar	30-39		√		2/18/97	Restaurant
Roberta	23-30		√		11/16/95	Office
Margarita	50-59		√		11/1/95	Learning Ctr
Sergio	50-59		√		11/3/95	Restaurant
Javier	50-59		√		11/4/95	Home
María	18-22	√	√		2/3/97	Classroom
Alicia	18-22	√	√		2/3/97	Classroom
Marina	18-22	√	√		2/4/97	Library
Carlos	23-29	√	√		2/4/97	Library
Marta	40-49			√	11/9/95	Restaurant
Cristina	23-20			√	10/26/95	Office
Isabel	50-59			√	11/1/95	Learning Ctr
Delia	18-22	√			2/18/97	Office
Gabriel	18-22	√			2/17/97	Office

Each participant was told the purpose of the interview, and that anything they said would be kept confidential. The researcher had previously submitted (in 1995) a proposal titled "An Ethnography of Native Speakers of Spanish in the Spanish Classroom" to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for its approval. [5] Despite its exemption, the researcher applied for a renewal of the proposed research in October of 1996. Again, it was found to be exempt. The researcher still supplied the participants with an informed consent form explaining the purpose of the project, the procedures of the research, any discomfort and risks to which the participants might be subject, an explanation of the benefits, statement of confidentiality, and

[5] The IRB exempted the study, case number 95.0177, from review "due to the fact that it appears to follow appropriate research procedures as it relates to requirements for the care and protection of physical, psychological, social and other human rights concerns" (IRB, October 24, 1995).

finally, the participants right to withdraw from the study at any time. The participants and researcher both retained a signed copy of this informed consent form.

All of the interviews were audiotaped, transcribed and coded. This was very time-consuming (and sometimes tedious), but absolutely necessary for the analysis.(For sample from coded interview, see Appendix H). It was during the transcriptions and listening to the tapes that much of the anaylsis began.

Case Studies

Four students from the SNS class at the community college participated in the in-depth case-studies. The numerous hours of participant observation with this group, and their support of the research was critical to the development of a deep and contextualized understanding of how these participants "make sense" of the world.

The nature of data collection with these four participants was carried out through (a) participant observations, (b) individual semi-structured interviews, and (c) a survey.

Participant Observations

The researcher began her participant observations in September of 1995 in a SNS class at a local community college. The researcher contacted the instructor of the community college class prior to registering for the class in order to verify that her participation as a non-native speaker of Spanish would not be disruptive to the class.

On the first night of the SNS class the researcher introduced herself as someone who would like to participate and conduct research in that class. The researcher explained that she would be interested in carrying out interviews and surveys with interested students from the class regarding their further acquisition and maintenance of Spanish. Some of the classes took place in the classroom. Others took place in the instructor's home, in restaurants, in a student's office, and at the library on Northern Arizona University's campus. The variety of meeting places permitted the researcher to observe the students' interactions in several different social contexts. Because contexts often influence how people utilize language, the multiple contexts in which language was observed in this study were important.

The SNS course was discontinued after the Fall 1995 semester. Four of the students from the community college class contacted the researcher and suggested that the course be continued on an informal basis. The interested students and the researcher agreed to continue to meet for 17 months, for a total of 110 hours. We met in the following places: university campus, community college campus, restaurants, participants homes, and the Public Library. See Table 4 for the participant observation schedule. In this Table the time spent on the university campus, community college campus, and public library were considered as "classroom time". The hours spent in participants homes and in restaurants were logged accordingly.

Table 4

Participant Observations

Classroom	Participants' Homes	Restaurants	Total
83 hours	15 hours	12 hours	110 hrs.

The time spent in participants' homes and restaurants was more casual in nature than the time spent in classroom type environments. However, academic activities did take place during the time spent in restaurants and homes. For example, one of the participants showed us how he makes "chile verde" (green chile) and "chile rojo" (red chile). We wrote down his recipe (in Spanish) and made copies of it for everyone (see Appendix G).

As mentioned earlier, I met the case study participants at a local community college. These participants were older than most of the other participants in this study. Their background in Spanish varied. See Table 5 for a general description of the participants.

Table 5

Case Study Participants

Participant Name	Age	Spanish-speaking home	Why SNS?	Background in Spanish
Pilar (female)	30-39	yes	"Fear of losing my Spanish after my grandparents died. Even though my parents speak Spanish, I still felt fear of loss."	Third year college Spanish
Javier (male)	50-59	yes	"To better comprehension of language and learn how to read and write."	First year college Spanish
Margarita (female)	50-59	yes	"To practice speaking it, reading it, and attain more knowledge of the Spanish culture."	Second Year College Spanish
Sergio (male)	50-59	yes	"To broaden my knowledge and vocabulary."	First year college Spanish

The case study participants also differed on their self-assessments. This information is included in Table 6.

Table 6

Self Assessment of Case Study Participants

Participants	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Pilar	4	3	3	2
Javier	4	4	1	1
Margarita	3	2	2	3
Sergio	3	2	3	2

1 = poor 3 = average 5 = excellent

2 = below average 4 = above average

Participant Observation Fieldnotes

The fieldnotes helped the researcher keep track of details that might otherwise have been forgotten. They also helped the researcher to identify any emerging themes in the data. For example, when the researcher began to notice a concern about "languagism" (discrimination based on the way a person speaks), her fieldnotes could corroborate that it was a topic of concern in the class.

Fieldnotes also assisted the researcher in developing a greater understanding of etic and emic perspectives. This information helped the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the significance of certain topics to the members of the group (the emic perspecitve). For example, the significance or participants' experiences and relationships with their grandmothers were fairly consistent. This theme was discussed in a variety of ways throughout the study.

Free Listing

Free listing is a cognitive technique used to discover information about the knowledge and belief system of the target group. For example, if the researcher may ask students to list every type of alcoholic drink they know. In contrast, if the researcher were to ask farmers in the highlands of Peru to name all the kinds of alcoholic beverages they know, the results would probably be quite different. These types of exercises are important because they help the researcher to identify cultural understandings of the group.

Seven students participated in a free listing exercise. This exercise was designed to identify the reasons why the students were participating in a SNS course. Four of the free listing exercises were conducted during the individual interview. Originally, the researcher had attempted to conduct a free listing of Spanish proverbs, but found that the participants were unable to produce this type of information out of context. However, the researcher had observed that the students knew and used many Spanish proverbs in classroom and social settings. This observation confirms Spradley's (1979) notion that although many cultural themes can appear as folk sayings, mottoes, proverbs, or recurrent expressions, they often remain as tacit knowledge. In other words, people will not (and perhaps cannot) reproduce this type of knowledge upon request. This is despite the fact that "they may know the cultural principle and use it to organize their behavior and interpret experience" (Spradley, 1979, p. 186).

Another free listing exercise was abandoned during the first semester with the students. The researcher asked students to name all the places where they use English. This free listing provoked many incredulous looks and a general difficulty in responding. The participants in this study use English in so many domains that the question would have been better stated as the antithesis, "Where don't you use English?", or "Where do you only speak Spanish?" The latter question was included in the open-ended survey responses. The free listing exercise was critical in helping the researcher identify the question.

Methods of Analysis

The qualitative program Data Collector (Turner & Handler, 1992) was used to chunk and code the qualitative data. Data Collector is what is known as a "code-and-retrieve" program. It allows the researcher to code the data in a systematic manner and facilitates the chunking of the data into appropriate categories. For example, the researcher can code the data by applying keywords to meaningful segments or "chunks" of the data. The researcher can then search for and retrieve all the chunks to which one or more codes have been applied (Weitzman & Miles, 1995). After all of the data had been chunked and coded, the appropriate tables were compiled for the qualitative responses and observations noted in field notes, open-ended surveys, and semi-structured interviews. The analysis was also conducted in narrative form. Frequencies and percentages were compiled for selected qualitative data analyzed with Data Collector.

Frequencies and percentages were compiled for each individual Likert-scaled survey item. Tables were designed to represent these data in that form.

Participant observations, fieldnotes, surveys, and interviews all came together to provide the thick description required by ethnographic research. The participant observation and fieldnotes generated the questions for the survey and the semi-structured interviews. The interviews and observations also played a key role in generating the themes that emerged during this research. Among these themes are: (a) the desire of these students to become literate in Spanish; (b) the pedagogical

approaches in the SNS classroom; (c) issues of pride and solidarity in the SNS classroom; (d) influence of certain family members on Spanish acquisition; and (e) the attitudes participants have toward their own language.

The use of the participants' words to exemplify the emerging themes allowed for the reader to hear the "voice" of the subjects. Because all of the participants in this study gave their time to respond to interviews and surveys, the use of their own words further legitimizes their participation. It also allows the reader to see the world through the eyes of the participants instead of through the researcher's perceptions of the participants' view.

The qualitative approach utilized allowed the researcher the opportunity to discover and explore the themes that arose in her participant-observations, individual interviews, and through the surveys. This approach also allowed the researcher to observe and explore some of the personal and social contributing factors of the participants' perceptions and attitudes towards Spanish. The themes that emerged from the participant-observations, individual interviews, and surveys were the following:

1. Characteristics of Spanish acquisition of the teachers;
2. Characteristics of Spanish acquisition of the students;
3. Significance of grandparents (especially grandmother) in Spanish language acquisition and maintenance;
4. School experiences related to Spanish;
5. Pedagogical influences on Spanish language acquisition;
6. Issues of cultural identity and solidarity;

7. Factors and experiences related to literacy development in Spanish;
8. Experiences related to racism and languagism; and
9. The value of bilingualism.

The quantitative program Systat (1992) was employed to compile the frequencies and percentages for each individual Likert-scaled survey item. The use of this program greatly facilitated this process and allowed the researcher to examine the data in a systematic manner.

Summary

Chapter 3 consisted of (a) the research questions; (b) a description of the nature of the research; (c) a discussion of the data collection procedures; (d) a description of the case study participants; and (e) an explanation of the data analysis.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter there are four sections: (1) Research questions; (2) Descriptive analysis; (3) Case Study and Interviews Analysis: and (4) Summary.

Research Questions

1) What are the language attitudes of native speakers:
   a) Toward the language itself?
   b) Toward their own speech?
   c) Toward other native speakers' speech?
   d) Their feelings about others' attitudes toward Spanish? (These were outlined in Peñalosa, 1980);
2) What are the characteristics of the language learning/acquisition experience;
   a) Where did they learn/acquire Spanish?
   b) When did they learn/acquire Spanish?
   c) With whom did they learn/acquire Spanish?
3) How do these individuals maintain their Spanish language skills;
   a) Where do they speak Spanish?
   b) With whom do they speak Spanish?
   c) Do they use Spanish in their community?
4) What are the reasons for participating in SNS course.

Descriptive Analysis

The design of this study was predicated on four stages: (1) Likert-scaled and open-ended survey responses, (2) qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews, and (3) participant observations, and (4) in-depth case studies.

In this section the data derived from the surveys will be presented (see Appendix F for complete survey and responses). The survey also included questions to gather demographic information. Four items that allowed the participants to self assess their abilities in Spanish also formed part of the survey. The remaining items are related to language attitudes.

Characteristics

Specific questions regarding the age, gender, year in school, current and past Spanish enrollment, place of birth, and whether or not the respondent was raised in a Spanish-speaking household were included in the survey.

The researcher did not anticipate any differences between the respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes and those not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. The data representing the home language of the respondents are noted in Table 7. After an initial examination of the data it was noted that there was an obvious difference between these two groups. For this reason the data from the two groups will be reported separately. It should also be noted that there was a difference in the size of the two groups. This was due to the fact that the researcher did not anticipate the need to separate the findings from these two groups.

Table 7

Home Language of Respondents

Spanish-Speaking Home	Yes	No
Number of Informants	62	20
Percent of Total Informants	75.61%	23.39%

Most of the respondents (75.61%) were raised in Spanish-speaking homes. Of those 20 respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes, 13 reported using Spanish either in the home with at least one parent (the mother was cited three times and the father once), with grandparents, friends, or teachers. Thus, even though 20 respondents were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes, it cannot be concluded that these individuals have no knowledge of Spanish. However, to say that they have the abilities of a native speaker could also be misleading. Some of these respondents clearly would be considered second-language learners instead of native speakers.

Most of respondents were born in the United States. Only one participant was born in another Spanish-speaking country, and one indicated the choice "other". That participant did not indicate what the "other" country was. See Table 8 for the data regarding the place of birth.

Table 8

Place of Birth of Respondents

Place of Birth	United States	Mexico	Other Spanish-Speaking Country	Other
Number of Informants	67	13	1	1
Percent of Total Informants	81.72%	15.85%	1.22%	1.22%

Females made up the majority of respondents in both groups. See Tables 9 and 10 for gender of respondents. The nature of the sample was based on the participation in the chosen groups. Females happen to make-up the majority in all groups except for SHPE, where male participants composed 82% of the group.

Table 9

Gender of Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Gender	Male	Female
Number of Informants	20	42
Percent of Total Informants	32.26%	67.74%

Table 10

Gender of Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Gender	Male	Female
Number of Informants	8	12
Percent of Total Informants	40%	60%

The majority of the respondents fell between the ages of 18-22. A much smaller percentage was in the 23-29 age group. It should be noted that the few participants who were above the age of 29 were all raised in Spanish-speaking homes. These data are presented in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11

Age of Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Age	18-22	23-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
Number of Informants	45	12	2	0	3
Percent of total Informants	72.58%	19.35%	3.23%	0%	4.84%

Table 12

Age of Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Age	18-22	23-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
Number of Informants	13	7	0	0	0
Percent of Total Informants	65%	35%	0%	0%	0%

All but two of the participants of this survey were students. The largest group of respondents were juniors (29.27%). The next largest group of students were freshmen (28.05%). Only 2.44% were graduate students. The academic status of the respondents to the survey is shown in Table 13.

Table 13

Academic Status of Respondents

Academic status	fresh	soph	junior	senior	grad	other
Number of Informants	23	12	24	19	2	2
Percent of Total Informants	28.05	14.63	29.27	23.17	2.44	2.44

Self Assessment of Abilities in Spanish

Part A of the survey asked the students to provide a self assessment of their abilities in Spanish in the following areas: listening comprehension, speaking comprehension, reading comprehension, and writing comprehension. This self-assessment was done according to a five point scale with 1 being poor and 5 being excellent. It should be noted that one respondent wrote in the value of 4.5 for all of the areas. This response was included in the frequencies for the score of 5. There was also one participant who did not respond to the item for reading.

Listening Comprehension

Respondents from Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves quite high in this particular area. (See Table 14 for the self assessment of listening comprehension of Respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes.)

Table 14

Spanish Listening Comprehension Self-Assessment

of Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Listening Comprehension	poor	below average	average	above average	excellent
Number of Informants	2	3	14	17	26
Percent of Total Informants	3.23%	4.84%	22.58%	27.42%	41.94%

The majority of respondents who grew up in Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves as above average or excellent in listening comprehension (69.36%). This finding rings true with the common comment "I can understand it better than I can speak it." In fact, this particular item was rated the highest out of the four areas. However, respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes had quite a different response to their self-assessment of listening comprehension. See Table 15 for data concerning respondents in this group.

Table 15

Spanish Listening Comprehension Self-Assessment

of Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Listening Comprehension	poor	below average	average	above average	excellent
Number of Informants	5	6	5	4	0
Percent of Total Informants	25%	30%	25%	20%	0%

The respondents not raised in Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves significantly lower in listening comprehension. The majority of the respondents in this group (55%) indicated that

they had poor listening comprehension skills. Indeed, their response is practically the antithesis of that of the respondents who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes. This makes sense given the fact that these respondents reported that they were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes.

Speaking

Both groups of respondents rated themselves below listening in their ability to speak Spanish. Again, those raised in Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves significantly higher than those who were not. These results are shown in Tables 16 and 17.

Table 16

Self Assessment of Spanish Speaking Ability

of Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Speaking	poor	below average	average	above average	excellent
Number of Informants	4	5	15	17	21
Percent of Total Informants	6.45%	8.06%	24.19%	27.42%	33.87%

Table 17

Self Assessment of Spanish Speaking Ability

of Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Speaking	poor	below average	average	above average	excellent
Number of Informants	7	4	8	1	0
Percent of Total Informants	35%	20%	40%	5%	0%

Those who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves quite high in their ability to speak Spanish. Only 9 out of the 62 respondents from this group (a total of 14.51%) rated themselves as below average or poor. The remainder expressed some degree of confidence in their ability to speak Spanish.

Only one respondent who was not raised in a Spanish-speaking home rated himself as above average in his ability to speak Spanish. This is in contrast with the 11 respondents from his group (55%) that rated themselves as below average or poor in their ability to speak Spanish.

The self assessment of the two groups is a direct reflection of whether or not the respondents were raised speaking Spanish. It is logical that if someone uses Spanish on a daily basis in their home, they will express greater confidence in their ability to speak it than someone who was not raised using the language on a daily basis. This also corroborates Fishman's (1991) assertion that the use of a language in the home environment is critical to its maintenance.

Reading

Both groups rated themselves below listening and speaking in their ability to read in Spanish. Again, those raised in Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves significantly higher. These data are shown in Tables 18 and 19. For example, over half (54.23%) of those who were raised in Spanish-Speaking homes rated themselves as above average or excellent in their ability to read Spanish. Only 10% of those who were not raised in Spanish rated

themselves as above average their ability to read in Spanish. None of these respondents rated themselves as excellent.

Table 18

Spanish Reading Self-Assessment

of Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Reading Comprehension	poor	below average	average	above average	excellent
Number of Informants	5	3	20	19	14
Percent of Total Informants	8.06%	4.84%	32.26%	30.65%	22.58%

Table 19

Spanish Reading Self-Assessment

of Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Reading Comprehension	poor	below average	average	above average	excellent
Number of Informants	6	5	7	2	0
Percent of Total Informants	30%	25%	35%	10%	0%

Writing

Both groups rated themselves lowest in their ability to write in Spanish. Again, those raised in Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves higher in this area than those respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. See Tables 20 and 21 for these data.

Table 20

Self-Assessment of Spanish Writing Ability

of Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Writing	poor	below average	average	above average	excellent
Number of Informants	6	8	24	14	9
Percent of Total Informants	9.23%	16.92%	44.62%	16.92%	12.31%

Table 21

Self-Assessment of Spanish Writing Ability

of Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Writing	poor	below average	average	above average	excellent
Number of Informants	8	4	8	0	0
Percent of Total Informants	40%	20%	40%	0%	0%

Only 29.23% of those respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves as above average or excellent in writing. No respondent from those not raised in Spanish-speaking homes categorized him/her self as above average or excellent. Indeed, only 40% rated themselves as average.

The importance of using Spanish in the home is demonstrated by the large disparity in responses by those raised in Spanish-speaking homes and those who were not. The responses were consistently higher in all areas for those who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes. Among this group, there was never more than 26.15% of the respondents who rated themselves below average in any given area. In contrast, the majority of

respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes rated themselves as below average in all areas.

Where the two groups were similar was in the order that they assessed themselves. Both groups rated themselves highest the area of listening comprehension. They rated themselves second to the highest in the area of speaking. They rated themselves third to the highest in the area of reading. Finally, they rated themselves last in their ability to write in Spanish. Even though they rated themselves quite differently in these areas, the fact that they assessed their strengths in the same order seems significant. The majority of the respondents to the survey, whether raised in a Spanish-speaking home or not, assessed their literacy skills as somewhat average or poor.

The findings from the self-assessment portion of the survey are of particular interest to educators working with Hispanic students. As indicated by Barkin (1981a, p. 1), the criteria for developing literacy includes factors such as "social class linguistic variation, geographical variation, individual student interests and abilities, and materials development." What is evident from this survey is that the students' abilities will differ greatly depending on whether or not they were raised in a Spanish-speaking home. Thus, demographic information such as the information derived in this portion of the survey is very important to the Spanish language instructor.

Language and Culture Survey Items

Part B of the survey asked the participants to respond to 21 items regarding language and culture (Again, see Appendix F for complete survey and survey responses). The survey employed a Likert type scale with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree". The participants were asked to respond NA if the statement was not applicable. Thus, not all rows will sum to 100%.

Balanced Bilingualism

According to this survey, the participants in this study who did grow up in Spanish-speaking households do not have a strong view of themselves as being balanced bilinguals. Some of the students may be stronger in Spanish, while others may be stronger in English. Only 24.19% strongly agreed that they can express themselves as well in Spanish as in English. A larger portion moderately agreed (29.03%). A slightly smaller amount mildly agreed (22.58%). See Table 22 for these data.

Table 22

Survey Item Number One for Respondents

Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

I can express myself equally as well in Spanish as I can in English	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	6	9	14	18	15
Percent of Total Informants	9.68%	14.52%	22.58%	29.03%	24.19%

Respondents not raised in Spanish-speaking homes responded much more negatively to this statement. This comes as no surprise, given that their exposure to Spanish differs greatly from those who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes. See Table 23 for their responses.

Table 23

Survey Item Number One for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

I can express myself equally as well in Spanish as I can in English	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	11	4	3	1	0
Percent of Total Informants	55%	20%	15%	5%	0%

Though not part of the survey itself, it was noted in the open-ended survey responses that some respondents would employ words in Spanish when they were responding in English. For example, the student who responded that she learned Spanish from her *abuelita* (grandmother) is conveying a different feeling than someone who uses the term "grandmother." This notion was corroborated for me by Pilar, Sergio, and Margarita (case study participants).

The particular respondent noted above was not raised in a Spanish-speaking home. I posit the notion that even though respondents did not respond positively to the statement "I can

express myself equally as well in Spanish as I can in English.", they still exhibit the sociolinguistic ability to employ Spanish in an effective manner. This includes people who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes, but still maintain ties with Spanish speakers outside of the home.

Importance of Spanish to Respondents

Of the most significant findings on this survey was the importance placed upon listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills in Spanish. This interest was strongly exhibited by both groups, but more so for the respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes. See Table 24 for the data regarding listening comprehension skills for Respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes.

Table 24

Survey Item 13 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

The ability to understand spoken Spanish is very important to me.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	0	0	0	6	56
Percent of Total Informants	0%	0%	0%	9.68%	90.32%

It should be underscored that this was the only item on the survey to which everyone in this group responded by choosing either "strongly agree" or "moderately agree". The respondents not raised

in Spanish-speaking homes also responded quite positively. See Table 25 for data.

Table 25

Survey Item 13 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

The ability to understand spoken Spanish is very important to me.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	1	0	0	5	14
Percent of Total Informants	5%	0%	0%	25%	70%

The data demonstrates that even though these respondents were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes, the importance they place upon the Spanish language is very high.

Rated second in importance for both groups is the ability to speak Spanish. Again, the results were higher for those respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes. See Table 26.

Table 26

Survey Item 12 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

The ability to speak Spanish is very important to me.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	0	0	2	6	54
Percent of Total Informants	0%	0%	3.23%	9.68%	87.10%

The ability to speak Spanish for people who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes has obvious importance. It enables communication with family members (both nuclear and extended). Through this communication both physical and psychological needs can be met.

Respondents not raised in Spanish-speaking homes also rated this item very high. (See Table 27 for the data.) Only one respondent moderately disagreed with the statement. Again, 70% of the respondents indicated "strongly agree" for the item.

Table 27

Survey Item 12 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-speaking Homes

The ability to speak Spanish is very important to me.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	0	1	1	4	14
Percent of Total Informants	0%	5%	5%	20%	70%

The strong agreement with this item indicates that communication in Spanish is highly valued for the respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. This importance could be related to the desire and need to use Spanish when communicating with elders and extended family.

The ability to read and write were also rated as important by both groups. It should be underscored that these items were rated significantly lower than the items related to listening and

speaking. See Table 28 for the data on the importance of reading Spanish.

Table 28

Survey Item 17 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-speaking Homes

The ability to read in Spanish is very important to me.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	0	0	05	11	46
Percent of Total Informants	0%	0%	8.06%	17.74%	74.19%

The number of respondents from this group that responded "strongly agree" has dropped 12.91% from the speaking category, where respondents indicated "strongly agree 87.10 % of the time. The same category dropped by 30% for respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. See Table 29.

Table 29

Survey Item 17 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

The ability to read in Spanish is very important to me.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	0	1	5	6	8
Percent of Total Informants	0%	5%	25%	30%	40%

Though the importance given to the ability to read for those not raised in Spanish-speaking homes is lower than how that group

rates listening and speaking, it is still seen as important by all but one respondent.

The ability to write in Spanish was rated second to last by those raised in Spanish-speaking homes. However, the two items only differed by one response, so it is not significant. See Table 30 for those responses.

Table 30

Survey Item 18 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-speaking Homes

The ability write in Spanish is very important to me.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	0	0	5	10	47
Percent of Total Informants	0%	0%	8.06%	16.13%	75.81%

The importance of being able to write in Spanish was rated as equal to the importance of being able to read in Spanish by the respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. See Table 31 for those responses.

Table 31

Survey Item 18 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

The ability to write in Spanish is very important to me.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	0	1	5	6	8
Percent of Total Informants	0%	5%	25%	30%	40%

The responses to the items for listening, speaking, reading, and writing correlated somewhat with how the participants assessed themselves in those areas. The only place where there was a slight difference was in the areas of reading and writing. The respondents rated the importance of these items higher than their ability. However, the importance that was afforded to each item closely followed the order in which the respondents rated their listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills.

It may be that Spanish is very much an oral language for many of the respondents to this survey. Thus, the importance of being able to understand and speak Spanish may far exceed any importance that the respondents may feel they have for literacy skills in Spanish. Nonetheless, there was no disagreement by people raised in Spanish-speaking homes as to the importance of these skills. There was only one participant who was not raised in a Spanish-speaking home that disagreed with any of the statements regarding the four skills in Spanish.

Classroom Preference

The respondents who grew up in Spanish-speaking homes expressed a higher level of comfort in studying Spanish with native speakers than those respondents not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. These data are located in Tables 32 and 33.

Table 32

Survey item 10 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for native speakers of Spanish.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	5	3	10	18	24
Percent of Total Informants	8.06%	4.84%	16.13%	29.03%	38.71%

A total of 67.74% of the respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes indicated "moderately agree" or "strongly agree" that they are comfortable participating in classes designed for native Spanish speakers. Conversely, only a total of 12.9% disagreed that they would be comfortable in a class designed for native Spanish speakers.

Only 25% of the respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes indicated that they would be comfortable in a class designed for native speakers. The majority (15%) of this group only mildly agreed with the statement. See Table 34 for these data. Six of the respondents in this group indicated NA. In other words, they do not even consider themselves as a candidate for a SNS course. See Table 33 for these data.

Table 33

Survey item 10 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for native speakers of Spanish.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	5	4	3	1	1
Percent of Total Informants	25%	20%	15%	5%	5%

Only 50% of the respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes indicated that they would be comfortable studying Spanish in a course designed for non-native speakers (See Table 34). More than a quarter of these respondents (27.41%) disagreed with the statement that they would be comfortable in a class where Spanish is taught to non-native speakers (See Table 34). Of that 27.41%, the majority (19.35%) indicated "strongly disagree".

The respondents not raised in Spanish-speaking homes indicated that they would be more comfortable in a class designed for non-native speakers. A total of 50% responded either "strongly agree" or "moderately agree" and another 20% responded "mildly agree". Thus, a total of 70% of these respondents indicated they would prefer to participate in a class designed for non-native speakers. Three of the respondents indicated NA to this item. See Table 35 for these data.

Table 34

Survey Item 11 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for non-native speakers.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	12	5	10	14	18
Percent of Total Informants	19.35%	8.06%	16.13%	22.58%	29.03%

Table 35

Survey item 11 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for non-native speakers.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	2	1	4	2	8
Percent of Total Informants	10%	5%	20%	10%	40%

The participants not raised in Spanish-speaking homes were stronger in their preferences of the type of Spanish class in which they would be more comfortable. They showed a preference for the class designed for non-native speakers. Conversely, the respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes showed more of a preference for the SNS classroom. However, their opposition to participating in a class designed for non-native speakers was not as strong as I had thought it would be.

Confidence in Language Skills

In the open-ended survey responses 22 participants expressed a lack of confidence in their ability to participate in a native speakers course due to their lack of confidence or literacy skills in Spanish. Other researchers have noted that native speakers often do not participate in SNS courses because of this lack of confidence in their own Spanish. Indeed, only 30 (or 48.39%) of the respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes strongly agreed that they feel confident about their Spanish. Another 22 of these respondents (35.48%) agreed, but to a lesser extent. The results from this item are summarized in Table 36. These respondents demonstrated much more confidence in their Spanish than did the group not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. The data for that group is summarized in Table 37.

Table 36

Survey Item 15 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

I feel confident about my Spanish.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	7	3	10	12	30
Percent of Total Informants	11.29%	4.84%	16.13%	19.35%	48.39%

Table 37

Survey Item 15 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

I feel confident about my Spanish.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	9	4	2	4	0
Percent of Total Informants	45%	20%	10%	20%	0%

The difference between these two groups is enormous. It raises the issue again of language instructors knowing their students' backgrounds. I believe we can also hypothesize that the students with lower confidence in their Spanish will be much less likely to participate in SNS courses at any level. Furthermore, the likelihood of transmitting the language to their own children is diminished.

Language and Identity

The third highest positive response from respondents who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes was to item number 14, "My Spanish language is a critical part of who I am". Only one person disagreed with this statement. Of the remaining 61 respondents, 80.65% chose "strongly agree". These data are in Table 38. Even the respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes responded favorable to this statement with 40% indicating "strongly agree" with another 10% agreeing to a lesser degree. Two people (10%) did not respond, and eight people (40%) disagreed with the statement. Obviously, there would be some

disagreement with this group because not all of them speak Spanish.

Table 38

Survey Item 14 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

My Spanish language is a critical part of who I am.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	1	0	4	7	50
Percent of Total Informants	1.61%	0%	6.45%	11.29%	80.65%

As summarized in Table 39, nearly half of the respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes (48.39%) disagreed with the statement "In order to be considered Latino/Chicano you must speak Spanish" (item 16). However, only 3.22% disagreed with the statement "Spanish is a critical part of Latino/Chicano culture" (item 20). In fact, 58.06% strongly agreed with the latter statement. See Table 40 for these data.

Table 39

Survey Item 16 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

In order to be considered Latino/Chicano you must speak Spanish.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	16	14	10	10	12
Percent of Total Informants	25.81%	22.58%	16.13%	16.13%	19.35%

The high level of disagreement with this statement by respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes illustrates an awareness of these speakers that there is a large portion of the Hispanic population that does not speak Spanish. Their response indicates that they do not consider language to be the only identifier or prerequisite for being a member of that culture. However, the respondents did express strong agreement that Spanish is an important part of their culture.

Table 40

Survey Item 20 for Respondents Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Spanish is a critical part of Latino/Chicano culture.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	1	1	7	17	36
Percent of Total Informants	1.61%	1.61%	11.29%	27.42%	58.06%

Individuals not raised in Spanish-speaking homes had more negative responses to the statement "In order to be considered Latino/Chicano you must speak Spanish. A total of 75% disagreed with the statement, the majority of whom (65%) strongly disagreed. See Table 41.

Table 41

Survey Item 16 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

In order to be considered Latino/Chicano you must speak Spanish.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	9	4	2	4	0
Percent of Total Informants	45%	20%	10%	20%	0%

This negative response was less notable in their response to the statement "Spanish is a critical part of Latino/Chicano culture". To this latter statement 80% of the respondents agreed. However, only 35% indicated "strongly agree". Twice as many respondents (4 people) in this group disagreed with the statement. This information is summarized in Table 42.

Table 42

Survey Item 20 for Respondents not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Spanish is a critical part of Latino/Chicano culture.	strongly disagree	moderately disagree	mildly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
Number of Informants	2	2	2	7	7
Percent of Total Informants	10%	10%	10%	35%	35%

This group agreed to a lesser extent with the above statement than those respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes. Nonetheless, the majority recognizes a link between language and culture. Their positive response indicates a positive

attitude toward Spanish, despite the fact that they were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. These respondents acknowledge the relationship between Spanish and Hispanic culture.

Comfort in Using Spanish Outside of the Home

The respondents in this study who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes expressed the highest comfort level in speaking Spanish with their own family. Only 9.68% said that they did not feel comfortable speaking Spanish with their family. Their rate of discomfort increases as they move away from family and the home. The respondents are less comfortable speaking Spanish with extended family, in public places, and with native speakers from other Spanish-speaking countries. The same was true for the respondents who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. Please see survey items 7, 8, 9, and 19 in Appendix F for a complete breakdown of these data.

Summary of Findings from Survey Data

Though the survey was initially thought of only as secondary information, it allowed the researcher insights about the needs, attitudes, and characteristics of native Spanish speakers from a larger sample. It also provided an important demographic sketch of the native Spanish-speakers surveyed. Furthermore, it highlighted fundamental differences between those respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes and those

not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. As was noted earlier, this was not anticipated.

1. The self assessment for the four skills areas (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) of respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes was significantly higher than for those who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes.

2. Both groups self-assessed their abilities in the four skills in the same order: (1) listening, (2) speaking, (3) reading, and (4) writing.

3. Both groups rated the importance of the four skills in the same order: (1) listening, (2) speaking, (3) reading, and (4) writing.

4. All of the older students in the study indicated that they were raised in Spanish-speaking homes. Not one student over the age of 29 reported being raised in a non Spanish-speaking home. This corroborates Hernández-Chávez' (1995) findings that more and more younger people are not learning the language at home.

5. The majority of respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes (75.8%) reported themselves as being equally as able to express themselves in Spanish or in English. This is probably because they have had extended use of Spanish in natural settings. Only 20% of the respondents not raised in Spanish-speaking homes agreed that they could express themselves equally as well in either language.

6. Those respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes expressed a much higher level of confidence about their Spanish. This is a critical issue because these students will probably be

more likely to transmit the language to their children and use it in everyday settings.

7. Both groups expressed that the Spanish language is a critical part of who they are. However, both groups also acknowledged that a person does not have to know how to speak Spanish in order to be considered Chicano or Latino.

8. Both groups indicated their highest comfort level was in speaking Spanish with their families. Their rate of discomfort increases as they move away from the family and the home.

Case Study and Interview Analysis

The themes that are discussed in this section are ones that emerged from the four case studies through interviews and observations. The case studies served as grounding for the development of the interviews and interview questions. In this section I have integrated the case studies, students interviews, and teacher interviews. The themes that are discussed are the following: Spanish acquisition of the teachers and students, influence of grandparents, school experiences, pedagogy, cultural identity and solidarity, literacy, racism, and the importance of bilingualism.

In this section I share some of my observations and the words and insights of the people who made this study possible. Clearly, I cannot include everything (This is the challenge of ethnography). However, I weave together parts of the stories of all these individuals in order to share with the reader an understanding of what it is like to be a native Spanish speaker in

this country participating in a SNS program. Also exhibited in this section are the words of native speakers who are not participating in SNS programs, but who are involved in activities that promote Latino cultural identity (i.e. MEChA, LULAC, HHS, SHPE, etc.). These students participated in the survey which asked them to respond to both Likert type statements and open-ended survey questions. Only statements from the open-ended responses are included in this section. It should be noted that all quotes included are in the exact form in which they were spoken.

Spanish Acquisition - The Teachers

La Adquisición del Español - Las Profesoras

The instructors of SNS courses whom I interviewed were native Spanish speakers who learned Spanish at home and studied it in school. When I asked them how they learned Spanish the answers varied, but all were consistent in that Spanish is very much a part of their identity and their relationship to the world. It was also noted that Spanish was directly related to the home and the family. Spanish appeared to be at the roots of the people.

Marta (interview #1) begins by telling me she began learning Spanish upon her conception.

> Yo lo aprendí desde que estaba en el vientre de mi madre, ¿No? Porque ella cuenta que cuando me estaba esperando me leía ella cuentos o novelas o poesía, lo que fuera. Y seguramente yo le escuché desde su interior. De las entrañas. Entonces lo traigo yo desde la concepción. Después del nacimiento, todo mi desarrollo fue en español. Yo crecí en El Paso, Texas. En el Segundo Barrio. Era pura chicanada, ¿no? Pura raza.

> I learned Spanish in my mother's womb. She says that when she was expecting, she used to read stories, novel, poetry, or whatever to me. Certainly, I was listening from her interior. From her innermost part. Spanish has been a part of me since my conception. After my birth, all of my development was in Spanish. I grew up in El Paso, Texas. In the Second Barrio. It was made up of only Chicanos, no? All raza.[6]

Isabel (interview #2), the instructor from the class at the community college, also was immersed in Spanish from the very beginning of her life.

> I grew up [in Arizona] in an area where everyone was Spanish speaking. In a small mining town where everyone spoke Spanish. And we went to a grammar school from first to eighth grade where it was only Mexican children there. There were no Anglos until we went to high school. . . .the Spanish that I spoke was the Spanish that I learned at home, the Spanish that I heard everybody else speaking. And it wasn't a Spanglish. It was mostly Spanish. . . . My father insisted that we speak Spanish at home. Even when we started school. He didn't pay attention to the teachers that said that we should speak English only. He said 'No, we are speaking Spanish at home.' And my grandmother always told us that English *'Era la lengua de los perros.'* (Dog's language) [laughter] I guess to her it sounded like a lot of barking. So she would not allow us to speak English. But we were very proud of knowing two languages.

Both of these professors indicate strong ties between Spanish, home, and family. Isabel notes that Spanish was not encouraged by teachers outside of the home. This is a theme that is corroborated by Marta when she speaks to the researcher about her experiences in school.

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[6] Raza refers to a group of people who are from the same cultural group. In this case, Hispanic.

Spanish Acquisition - The Students

La Adquisición del Español - Los Estudiantes

The students in the SNS course also grew up speaking Spanish, at least with some members of their families. Some only spoke it with one parent, others with both. Still others, only spoke Spanish with grandparents or other extended family members. Sergio (case study #1, age 50-59), for example, only spoke Spanish at home.

En mi casa no hablabamos en inglés. Y mi papa no nos dejaba hablar en inglés. Nos decía, 'En la calle pueden hablar cualquier idioma que les guste. Pero aquí en la casa, aquí en mi casa, deben hablar español.'

In my house we didn't speak English. And my dad didn't let us speak English. He would tell us, 'In the street you can speak any language you want. But here at home, in my house, you should speak Spanish.'

Out of the 14 people interviewed for this study, only three indicated that they did not use Spanish on a regular basis at home while growing up. They were all female and from three different age groups (18-22, 23-29, and 50-59). Still Pilar (case study #2, age 30-39) indicated that Spanish was used less and less in her home as she got older. She began to use Spanish mostly with her grandparents. She commented that her younger sister and brother, who were not part of this study, do not speak as much Spanish as she did a result of its progressive lack of use in her home. Again, this corroborates what Hernández-Chávez (1995) found about the lack of use with younger people.

The Grandparents - Los Abuelitos

It appears that the generation of the grandparents, in many of the cases, had much to do with the students in this study learning Spanish. In fact, of the 82 people surveyed and 14 interviews there were 48 occurrences of people specifically mentioning either their grandmother (26 occurrences) or their grandparents (22 occurrences). Fishman (1991) often discusses the importance of the transmission of a language across generations within the home as a crucial aspect of language maintenance. During a lecture at NAU (Fishman, 1994) he commented on the importance of lap tops as a crucial element of language transmission. He was not referring to the latest technology, but to placing children on your lap and talking to them. This kind of nurturing behavior is critical and tremendously effective in the transmission of language across generations.

Roberta, one of the younger students in this study (interview #3, age 23-29), only spoke Spanish with her grandparents. "[I learned Spanish] growing up with my grandparents. My mother never spoke it to me growing up. Just going to Michigan [to my grandparents] for our vacations." Though she enthusiastically participated in the SNS course, Roberta does not plan on transmitting Spanish to the generations that follow her.

> I noticed that my mother would talk in Spanish with her parents and she would talk in English with me. And like me, when I have children, I'm going to speak English, nothing but English to them. And she's [Roberta's mother] not going to be speaking Spanish with them. I don't want to say it's

> filtering out, but it's not becoming as prevalent. . . .It's not that I'm cutting off that language, it's just that it's not my first language. English is.

Other students, like Margarita (case study #3, age 50-59), had a more of an opportunity to hear Spanish at home, although she mostly spoke it with her grandmother.

> I learned Spanish because I grew up in a household where my parents spoke it. And but not to us. [Margarita now speaks Spanish with her mother.] Spoke it to my aunts, my grandmother, especially. You know, you hear it. And they spoke mostly English to us. But we could understand the Spanish. My grandmother was the one that forced me to speak Spanish. Not by saying you have to, but because she wouldn't speak English.

Again, it was one of the grandparents that had the greatest influence on learning the language and maintaining it. Margarita (case study # 3 age 50-59) continues:

> And a lot of my generation (and I'm an [sic] older generation), we couldn't speak Spanish. Though we could understand it. We knew all the bad words [laughter], but like I said. I do credit, any of us who did learn Spanish, I can tell you right now it was from the abuelitas. Because they are the ones that wouldn't give into speaking English. They would just speak Spanish. And a lot of us had to communicate with them. And I think that's where many of us learned our Spanish.

It was not just people like Margarita's of the "older generation" who expressed the important role that their grandparents have or had on their acquisition of Spanish. Twenty-

two of the 77 survey respondents who were in the age groups 18-22 and 23-29 remarked that they learned Spanish from their grandparents. One student responded with a familiar "I learned Spanish from my *nana* and *tata*", two terms of endearment for grandmother and grandfather. Another student responded "I learned Spanish from my *abuelitos*", another term of endearment for grandparents. It is interesting to note that grandfathers alone were never singled out. They were always mentioned in conjunction with the grandmother. See Table 43 to see which interviewees and case study participants explicitly indicated their grandparents, grandmothers, mothers, and fathers as people with whom they speak (or spoke) Spanish.

The stories of grandparents and families were not just a part of the interviews. This theme was also apparent during the classes. One evening in class we were reading poetry from a book called *Cool Salsa*. The book is an anthology of poetry by Latino authors. When Isabel (the instructor) arrived at a poem about a grandfather, by Sandra Cisneros, she decided to let Roberta read it. A few weeks before Roberta had shared with the class a slide show of an *ofrenda* (offering) that she had made to her grandmother for her thesis art show at the Art Institute of Chicago. Roberta began to read the poem but was not able to continue because she began to cry. The whole class was getting a little teary-eyed. Isabel continued the reading, but she, too, was visibly moved by the poetry. She ended with a poem about mangos that conjured up other childhood images that were equally as personal, but less emotional for the other students.

Table 43

Familial Influence on Spanish

Participant Name	Age	Grand-parents	Grand-mother	Mother	Father
Pilar (case study)	30-39	√	√	√	√
Roberta	23-30	√	√		
Margarita (case study)	50-59		√	√	
Sergio (case study)	50-59	√			√
Javier (case study)	50-59	√		√	
María	18-22	√	√	√	√
Alicia	18-22	√		√	√
Marina	18-22		√	√	√
Carlos	23-29			√	√
Marta	40-49		√	√	
Cristina	23-20			√	√
Isabel	50-59		√	√	√
Delia	18-22	√		√	√
Gabriel	18-22		√	√	√

Through my case studies, interviews, and observations with the native speaker students, it became apparent to me the strong role grandparents play in the lives of these individuals. They are role models in every sense, not just linguistically. The *abuelitos* have influenced their grandchildren in ways that have encouraged cultural pride and the continuance of traditions. When Roberta was showing the slides of her thesis art show which was dedicated to her grandmother, the other students were in awe. Not only was the show dedicated to her grandmother, it was based on her memories of her grandmother. The colors she used were the colors of her grandparents house. She remarked that she never understood the bright colors they used to paint their house, until

she made a trip to their hometown in Mexico where many of the buildings were painted with the same turquoise color. When Roberta came to a slide of her mother, and aunts, their faces replaced by roses, Margarita remarked "How come all of our grandmothers look a like?" Her statement was not a literal one. What it demonstrates the strong emotional ties that all of these students have with their *abuelitos*.

School - La Escuela

Another very pronounced theme in my observations, case studies, and interviews were stories of students who were discouraged at school from developing their skills in Spanish, especially during their early years. School has always been a place of acculturation, and for students who speak a language at home other than the dominant one, the English language is a large part of this acculturation. Javier (case study #4, age 50-59) provides us with a good description of the linguistic acculturation he faced when he went to school.

> But I didn't get into school until I was nine years old. So, the teacher that we had was Mrs. White. My first grade teacher. And you could not speak Spanish in the classroom. It was against school rules. So anytime that anyone said a Spanish word, of any sort, you were stood in front of the class, facing the class, stick your hand out and they would swat you with a ruler across the fingers. Then , so I wouldn't participate in much of anything in the class, because I couldn't speak English. So my little sister was in the same classroom. And she would translate for me if I needed to go to the bathroom or whatever. But the teacher let that go on for about a month or so and then she stopped that. So I used to get a lot of swats on my knuckles. . . .

> even in the playground we used to get sent to the principle's office and then we'd get the big paddle. My brother and I would be playing in the playground, or cousins, we'd be talking in Spanish and then the white kids would run to the principal and tell him. So they'd haul us in, I wasn't the only one, they'd haul other Spanish kids into the office. They'd say 'Grab your ankles.' So what you had to do was you stood straight up and then you'd grab your ankles and WHAMO they'd swat ya. So it kind of made me bitter at first. Now I have no bitterness toward that because it helped me learn English much faster. And it was a little difficult until about fifth grade. In fifth grade there was nothing I couldn't say or do. But it was rough until then. . . .But my mom was teaching us Spanish, the ABC's, but then I didn't quite learn them because the principal and the teachers told her that 'You will not teach your kids Spanish, to read or write.' So that's why I never learned how to read and write. Cause my mom was told not to teach us. And she refused to do it. She wanted us to learn English and succeed in life.

Javier's description of school describes two themes that undergirded many of our conversations throughout the past 17 months: (1) discrimination based on language (languagism), and (2) lack of literacy skills in Spanish. He seems to believe the punishment that he endured in school helped him to learn English faster. His charitable nature also helps him to forgive his teachers and school administrators for the punishments they inflicted upon him. His vivid recollections of these experiences imply that they are ones he will never forget.

The second apparent theme in his comment is that of never learning how to read and write in Spanish. Again, it was the teachers and principal of his school who influenced whether or not his mother would teach him Spanish. Though she only spoke to him in Spanish, she never did teach him to read or write it. During

one conversation, Javier did mention his grandfather reading to him from the Bible in Spanish. That appears to be the extent to his exposure to written Spanish as a child.

Marta (one of the SNS instructors, interview #1) was also punished for speaking Spanish in school. She exclaimed in an interview (October 1995):

> Uy, nos pegaban. Nos castigaban, ¿no? Yo recuerdo que me pegaban en las curvas de las piernas, porque hice una pregunta. Y era en kinder. Yo como no más sabía no y yes [she says with a strong Spanish accent] era yes de aquel entonces. Dije no, pero la maestra le pareció que no era inglés, ¿verdad? Porque no había dicho "Nooo"[she says with a strong English accent] entonces me pegó, no. Me dice algo, uh, "espeak inglish." Entonces yo después supe por mi prima hermana que también estaba allí (y era más letrada en inglés que yo) me dijo 'Hey, pendejada que se dice "NO".' Entonces con el abuso, tanto de mi prima como de la maestra, pues yo tuve que aprender rápido.
>
> Oh they used to hit us. They would punish us. I remember they would hit me on the back of the legs because I asked a question. And I was in kindergarten. All I knew was 'yes' and 'no'. [she says with a strong Spanish accent] I said 'no', but it did not sound like English to the teacher because I did not say 'no' [with an English accent] then she would hit me. That was when I found out from my first cousin, who knew more English than me, 'Hey loser, you're supposed to say 'No" [with a strong English accent]. So, with the abuse of the teacher as well as my cousin I had to learn fast.

Examples such as the one above are not uncommon for speakers of languages other than English. Though the punishment may be more covert today then it was 30 years ago, children today are still discouraged from speaking native languages (other than English) at school.

Other students mentioned similar events, but had no personal recollection of being punished for speaking Spanish. For example, Sergio (case study #1), who went to South Beaver School explained: "No nos dejaba hablar español en la escuela. Solamente cuando estábamos solitos. Dicen mis amigos, yo no me acuerdo. (They didn't let us speak Spanish at school. Only when we were alone. That's what my friends say, I don't remember.) Isabel also said that her friends said the same thing, but that she had no recollection of it.

The differences of experience in school seemed to be more closely related to factors of age than anything else. Some of the older participants mentioned more issues pertaining to languagism than did the younger participants. However, I believe it is also related to the characteristics of the community. For example, Margarita (case study #3) said that speaking English in school for her was never an issue. She is of the same generation as Javier and Marta, but she grew up in a different part of the country (Missouri). The children in her town participated in cultural events and spoke Spanish with their grandparents, but were otherwise encouraged to speak English. Javier, on the other hand, grew up in New Mexico and spoke only Spanish at home. In fact, his mother was adamant about the use of Spanish in their home, despite the fact that she did not teach them how to read and write in Spanish. Javier (case study # 4) explained:

> The minute she saw us come through the door she starts talking Spanish. You'd never get another word of English out of her as long as we were around. Then she'd say 'Qué dijo?'

> Cause a person would be there and he'd say something to her in English and then she would turn to us and say 'Qué dijo?' 'What did he say?' so we would translate for her thinking she didn't know. And then the fellow would say 'She was just talking to me a minute ago.' And we would say 'No, she doesn't know how to speak English.' And he'd say 'Oh yeah she does, she was talking to me.' And we'd say 'No, my mom doesn't know how to speak English.' [laughter] So we never knew for a long time that she knew how to speak English. She'd just refuse to speak English in front of us.

Some of the younger students and instructors went to school after many of the bilingual education laws were passed (i.e. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968, 1974, 1978, and 1984). However, this usually meant that even if Spanish was an option for them at school, its purpose was to mainstream Spanish speakers into English speaking classrooms as quickly as possible. Cristina (one of the SNS instructors, age 23-30, interview #4), who came to the United States from Central America, did not have that option. "The school that I went to did not have a ESL program. It did not have teachers that spoke Spanish. It was submersion. You know, sink or swim idea." Later, when Christina as able to take Spanish classes in high school, she took every class that was available. She proved to be quite an asset to the instructors of the course and used the classes as a way to maintain her language and culture.

María (SNS student, age 18-22, interview #5) described her transition to school as a difficult one, despite the fact that she was able to speak English and Spanish. "Yo sé que cuando yo fui a kinder me metieron en un speech class porque tenía un acento del

español en inglés." (I know that when I went to kindergarten they put me in a speech class because I had a Spanish accent in English.) After a short time this student moved to Phoenix with her family and her new school performed tests to see if she really did need a speech therapist. "Pero no era algo que necesitaba. No más era como yo hablaba. Era un acento de la casa." (But it wasn't anything that I needed. It was just the way that I spoke. It was an accent from home.)

In this section we see a wide range of school experiences regarding language issues. Many of these experiences demonstrate a clear lack of understanding of the normal characteristics of bilingual linguistic development on the part of the school. Other experiences highlight some of the ugly faces of racism still present in our schools today.

Pedagogy - La Pedagogía

The pedagogy and materials employed in a SNS class often differ from the Spanish as a foreign language classroom. (See Table 44 for major differences.) I noted several of these differences in the community college course in which I did participant observation. For example, the students already possessed a large vocabulary and ability to speak and understand Spanish. What the teacher, Isabel, did in her class was to concentrate on expanding these skills. She also asked the students to read and write.

I noted that Isabel hardly employed the text that had been selected for the class. When she did so, it usually provoked

confusion because the texts were grammar books from Spain, intended for the monolingual Spanish speaker. Some of the grammatical concepts were new to the students as well as much of the vocabulary. The confusion and irritation provoked by the use of these texts are exhibited in the following exchange recorded in my field notes. The teacher, Isabel, was explaining the present perfect tense and the occurrence of past participles as a part of that tense. One of the students responded with great frustration "Cómo voy a aprender si no lo entiendo en inglés, mucho menos en español?" (How am I going to learn this if I don't even know it in English, much less in Spanish?) Isabel, trying to show a little optimism said "Poco a poco se va lejos." (Little by little one goes a long ways) However, the student did not share this sense of optimism. She changed the idiom to "Poco a poco se hace loco." (Little by little it makes you crazy.) Another student commented to me that he thought the grammar was very difficult because he didn't know how to read and write. He said "Me da vergüenza." (It embarrasses me.) This was a comment that he repeated on several occasions throughout the last 17 months.

Isabel recognized these frustrations and deep feelings regarding Spanish and took a very humanistic approach to the teaching of her SNS course. She frequently validated how the students in the class used Spanish by putting the vocabulary that they use on the board along with the vocabulary that she was introducing. She made no attempt whatsoever to eradicate any nonstandard usage of the language. Many of the students in the class used a non-standard dialect of Spanish. This was not

interpreted or treated as a problem. Isabel's main focus was to encourage the students to use Spanish, whatever Spanish it may be. She made the following comment regarding the student who was said she was going crazy with the grammar:

> And the thing is is that she likes to use the language. And it is so good to be able to tell her it's valid. I mean that you're doing good in using it. You know, don't feel bad about it. It's just another way to say the same thing. And that's the Spanish that she knows. And why should we tell her that it's substandard or it shouldn't be used or, I don't believe that. I don't think that our purpose is to have everybody speak Standard Spanish. I think that the purpose is to improve their writing and communicative skills. And if they learn the difference they can pick it up on their own, if they're inclined. But in one semester, that's not going to happen. It's just like when Javier says speletrear [to spell], I'll say deletrear. And I'll put it on the board. But also, I don't want to make him feel bad. Because he'll think speletrear, and everybody understands speletrear. My goodness that's what you've been using for years and years. How can you tell someone you have to use this one because we don't understand you? Everybody understands.

All of the instructors to whom I spoke had different approaches to teaching, yet the goals were fairly consistent: The students are to speak Spanish, and to increase the domains in which they are able to communicate in Spanish. Another consistent characteristic of the classes was the nurturing of cultural pride and a sense of solidarity among the students and instructors. This was a theme that underscored much of what I observed in Isabel's class and much of what both Christina and Marta shared with me. This theme has also been very prevalent in my case study observations over the past 17 months.

Table 44

Major Differences Between Spanish for Native Speakers and Spanish as a Foreign Language

	Spanish for Native Speakers	Spanish as a Foreign Language
Students	Already have basic knowledge of Spanish language	Spanish is not first language. Little prior knowledge.
Texts	Address grammatical and cultural topics relevant for native Spanish-speakers for futher acquisition of Spanish.	Address grammatical and cultural topics appropriate for the second language and culture learner.
Pedagogy	Focus on further acquisition of language. Increase domains of Spanish use. Nuture cultural pride and solidarity.	Focus on learning language for the first time.

Cultural Identity and Solidarity - La Identidad Cultural y La Solidaridad

I began noticing what I have termed "solidarity" (la solidaridad) of native Spanish speakers the first night I observed a SNS class. It was mostly the way the instructor was using language that caught my attention. She would say things like "Cómo aprendemos nuestro idioma?" (How do we learn our language?) Or she would say "En nuestra cultura . . ." (In our culture . . .). This type of comment is something unique to a SNS course because when you are teaching a Spanish class to students who are not native speakers referring to "our language and our culture" is not an option due to the cultural heterogeneity of the

class. Likewise, if the teacher is not a native speaker, these types of comments are not an option.

My observations of the SNS class continued the second week at Isabel's house. Everyone brought food and music. Because it was only my second time with the group I was not entirely comfortable with taking notes during the "fiesta", so I didn't. However, I did mentally note several things that I entered into my field notes as soon as I left the party. Many of the notes I took that night were related to issues of identity and solidarity. For example, two times that evening someone referred to the gathering as a "pequeña latina naciones unidas" [sic]. Indeed that was the feeling because there were people from several different Spanish-speaking countries at the party that evening.

After we ate, talked, and listened to music Isabel initiated a semiformal conversation in Spanish about history. This conversation was prefaced with the importance of understanding who "we" are. During this conversation we discussed the Arabs in Spain, the Spanish in what is now Mexico and the United States, and the whole issue of Latinos being a mixture of people and cultures. It was a fascinating conversation and everyone related their own backgrounds to it. Though everyone had different backgrounds, they were all linked by a common language and a desire to keep their personal histories, cultures, and language alive.

In my observations and participation in that particular course I saw a group of people come together and develop a closeness that is not always found in other classes. The bonds

that have formed are a sign of solidarity among this group that is directly related to the fact that they share a culture. This was a class of individuals who, for the most part, really only had that in common. Yet this love of their culture and language that was been nurtured in the class also created friendships and understandings that continued after the 15 week course. Javier (case study #4) voiced an opinion about the class that I think was consistent with the way everyone felt.

> When I walk into that classroom and I sit down I feel at home. I feel like I'm sitting around the table with by brothers and sisters. That's how comfortable I feel . And then if she asks me something, I answer. But I have no trouble in there at all. And I have in other classes that I've taken.

This sense of comfort with the group is something that facilitates learning for these students. Not only are they are in a class where they can speak Spanish, but they share a common denominator that isn't there in Spanish classes with non-natives. Javier was not the only one who mentioned that he has had difficulty in Spanish classes where there were both monolingual and bilingual students. When I was discussing with Pilar whether or not the SNS class should be continued she was very adamant that it should. I had wanted to explore this question with her because I had noticed a very strong reaction from her when Isabel mentioned that the community college might try and combine the native speakers class with a non-native speakers class. Pilar (case study #2), who is normally quite reserved and rather shy,

shook her head and said "No!". When I questioned her about this later she said that she had been in classes with non-native speakers before, and that her needs were not being addressed. She said that "La gente que habla [español] no tiene la misma necesidad léxica. . . . Nos sentimos a gusto en nuestra clase. En otras clases se burla de la lengua y de la cultura." (People that speak Spanish do not have the same lexical needs . . .We feel very comfortable in our class. In other classes people make fun of the language and culture.) More than a year later when I spoke with her again on the same subject she reiterated this statement and gave me examples of how and when she has had such experiences. Most of these experiences were related to her experiences in high school.

This feeling of being comfortable is extremely important to learning a language. Krashen (1982) refers to it as the Affective Filter Hypothesis for L2 learners. The more comfortable a student is with a language and with the learning environment the lower their filter will be. When the affective filter is low it allows more information to reach the student so that they are able to process it. When Javier (case study #4) was talking about the class and why he thought he had no trouble in it as he did in other Spanish classes he said "I think it's cause I'm in my environment. It is my environment. And los mexicanos to me mean more than anything else."

The sense of solidarity also took a political form in many of our discussions and meetings. For example, in the fall of 1996 we read articles and had discussions regarding the Chicano school

teacher Victor Morales from Texas who got his name on the ballot for senator. We also discussed an article that one of the students had copied from the World Wide Web regarding the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Both of these discussions involved questions regarding the media's covereage (or lack thereof) of events such as the Hispanic March in Washington D.C. and Victor Morales. What was demonstrated in all of these discussions was the commitment, interest, and dedication of these students to other Hispanics.

The SNS class represents more than just a place to go and learn Spanish. It is a gathering of people who already have a deep love, respect, and curiosity for the Spanish language and the different Hispanic cultures with which it is associated. All of the students have been inspired by the historical and cultural aspects of the class and want to learn more. Not only do these cultural aspects contribute to their understanding of the language, it also contributes to the cultural pride (orgullo) that is felt in the respective Hispanic communities. Sergio summed up this feeling of pride in the following way:

> . . .me da un gusto ver que no no más el gringo era el que [doesn't finish sentence] porque quiero que sepa la otra gentes que no más ellos eran los únicos que vinieron. Que los españoles, la gente de España, los mexicanos que ellos ya estaban estables aquí antes que vinieron todos los demás. No pues, se ha perdido. Mucha gente piensa que muchos que dicen por que no te vas para atrás para México. Y lo que no saben ellos es que mis padres y parientes ya estaban aquí antes que ellos. Y como Javier, pues sus parientes ya estaban aquí desde los siglos pasados. Es una cosa que dice mucha gente que se va para atrás para México. Y poco a poco

> se da cuenta de que no no es así. Y no era así. Me da orgullo saber todo eso de las gentes antiguas y los antespasados. Y los trabajos que hicieron para establecerse aquí en este país. Y es un orgullo.
> It makes me happy to see that it wasn't only the 'gringo' the one that [doesn't finish sentence] because I want other people to know that it wasn't just them that came. The Spanish and the Mexicans were already stable here before the others came. No, well that's been lost. Many people think [doesn't complete phrase] they say why don't you go back to Mexico? And what they don't know is that my parents and realtives were already here before them. And like Javier, his relatives were already here centuries ago. That's one thing that people say. Why don't you go back to Mexico? And little by little they realize that it isn't like that, and it never was like that. It makes me proud to know about the old timers and my ancestors and all of the work that they did to establish themselves in this country. It's something to be proud of.

SNS classes not only cultivate cultural pride and solidarity, they allow the students to develop an understanding and respect for regional differences in language and culture. This is something that is accomplished through conversation, film, literature, and the study of history and art. The students in an SNS class do have language as a common denominator, but the personal cultural and historical perspectives that each one brings to the class serve to bridge gaps and build solidarity among members of the group. Marta (interview #1) explained how this was experienced in her SNS class.

> Y eso sí fue bonito por que entonces allí cada quien pudo poner su granito de sal, verdad. Todos teníamos algo interesante que decir. Y ellos empezaron a sentirse orgullosos, no, de esas cosas: De tener el orgullo de ver que eran un grupo. Solidaridad, como dices. La otra, también

> aceptar las differencias. Regionales como otra versión de la misma. Entonces, tener el respecto por nuestras diferencias, no.
> And that was beautiful because everyone could put in their two cents (or their grain of salt). We all had something interesting to say. And they began to feel proud of these things. To have pride in seeing that they were a group. Solidarity, like you say. The other [thing] was to accept differences. Regional ones like another version of your own. So, having respect for our differences, no.

An important aspect of living in a bilingual society is developing understanding and respect for all cultures. This means also developing an understanding of who we are as individuals and who we are as a group. The SNS course that I observed and the ones that I have discussed with SNS instructors all provide an atmosphere where this can take place in a non-threatening way. Because half of the students and instructors expressed that they had experienced racism in a variety of ways, being able to explore culture in an environment where solidarity among Latinos is fostered is clearly of importance.

Literacy - La Alfabetización

When asked why they would partiticpate in a Spanish for native speakers class a majority of the participants noted their desire to learn how to read and write in Spanish. Literacy is often an aspect of the Spanish language that native Spanish speakers in this country do not have an opportunity to attain. As already noted above, not being literate in Spanish is a source of discomfort for some students. It also contributes to a diminishing of people's

ability to maintain cultural and personal ties with their monolingual Spanish-speaking relatives. Alicia (interview #8), a student in the SNS class at NAU, expressed why she is participating in a SNS course. "I want to minor in bilingual education. I just want to improve and expand my vocabulary and make sure that I can write to my grandparents and just keep the tradition alive. So I don't lose anything. Cause it's good to be bilingual. It makes it easier for both parties." Alicia's participation in the SNS course is also a positive experience, thus enhancing her chances to learn more. When asked about her participation in a class designed to teach Spanish as a foreign language she responded "It is just real frustrating. I mean this college Spanish was not even near the intermediate level. It was horrible. I hated it."

Though not all students reported such strong negative feelings about their participation in classes designed to teach Spanish as a foreign language, many reported feelings of boredom, as well as some animosity from and toward their classmates. For example, one MEChA student remarked "They look at me for answers. [I am] A token in the study groups I was put on the spot many times." Another MEChA student said "They believe (assume) that I know more than them. And I should know more." These assumptions are probably what made the first MEChA student mentioned feel like he was "on the spot". For more examples of how native Spanish speakers perceive the reactions of their non-native speaker classmates see Table 45.

Table 45

Perceptions of the Reactions of Non-Native Speakers in the Spanish Classroom

Question:	How do non-Hispanic students in your Spanish classes react to you being in class?
Survey #	**Survey Response**
23.	"They seem to like the idea of knowing that they can turn to us for help. Others seem to think that we are competition to them."
26.	"Intimidated- but they get used to listening to you speak."
24.	"Like I know it all. They don't answer cause they think the natives will always answer."
54.	"They look at me for answers. A token in the study groups. I was put on the spot many times."
61.	"Who cares?"
65.	"I am frequently asked for help, even by the teacher."
68.	"I'm just another regular student."
71.	"They believe (assume) that I know more than them. And I should know more.

Of the 62 respondents who grew up in Spanish-speaking homes, 36 of them specifically said that they had a desire to either learn how to read and write in Spanish or a desire to improve these skills. The comments of the respondents demonstrated that some of them questioned the legitimacy of their Spanish. For example, one student remarked that she wanted "to remember the proper way to use grammar". Another person said "I'd like to learn how to read, write, and speak properly". One

member of the Hispanic Honor Society epitomizes the notion of "proper" Spanish and "improper" Spanish with the following statement: "I would definitely would love to know more about Spanish rules. Because since I came to [sic] U.S. I haven't practice [sic] the right rules for Spanish."

Spanish for Native Speakers courses do provide students with the opportunity to learn how to read and write in Spanish, which is what many native speakers desire. Many of the newer texts, as already indicated in the review of the literature, validate the native speaker's dialect of Spanish as well as emphasizing the importance of standard Spanish.

Developing literacy skills in Spanish is something that is viewed positively by the participants in this study. It enables them to participate in the Hispanic community in a professional manner. For example, two of the people interviewed indicated that they want to work as bilingual teachers. In order to accomplish such a goal, these individuals must develop their literacy skills in Spanish. For the other participants, biliteracy is also important. It enables them to maintain and develop personal, professional, and cultural ties with monolingual Spanish-speakers in their communities. The importance of fostering such ties cannot be underestimated.

Racism - El Racismo

Racism was not directly explored in the survey due to its sensitive nature. I did attempt to identify its affects in the classroom by asking the open-ended question "How do non-

Hispanic students in your Spanish classes react to you being in class?" I asked this question because my observations and case study interviews indicated that native speakers sometimes feel discriminated against in the Spanish classroom (by non-native speakers).

Racism was often a topic in the class discussions in which I participated and observed. The subject surfaced in various ways. For example, it was a subject evident in literature and film. However, it was also a subject that touched personally on the lives of many of the participants in this study. Racism does not confine itself to fiction: it is a very real element in many of the participants' lives. It took its shape in sometimes covert manners, but other times in very blatant ways.

The subject of racism was raised recently in a discussion with three of the case study participants of a paper written by Eduardo Hernández Chávez (1995). The author of this particular paper was discussing some of the psychological and societal effects of losing a language. Within this discussion he mentioned the practice of changing a Spanish name to an English name. For example, changing the name Roberto to "Bobbie" or Soledad to "Sally". This provoked a conversation among the group about personal encounters with such name changes. Though everyone in the group discussion had a name that was pronounceable in English, everyone had a family member or friend who had their name changed in school (or upon arrival in this country), in order to facilitate things for an English dominant teacher. For example, Alicia María became "Alice Marie". Though orthographically it may

not look like such a dramatic change, phonetically and psychologically the change is drastic.

Other members of the group have mentioned similar incidents reflecting racism. One such incident was not being able to get married in a local church because the man was Hispanic and the woman was Anglo. This particular event took place 20 years ago, but the pain is as fresh as if it occurred yesterday. Bouts with racism are not uncommon for this group. A recent observation by one of the participants is that racism in Flagstaff is getting worse, not better. This individual commented that people often move away from him in public places as if he were a criminal. He perceives such behavior to be related to his physical attributes. He noted that he does not say much in situations like that becuase he knows that the people think that he does not speak English. Others in the group have made similar comments.

One of the instructors (interview #1) participating in this study also made comments during our interview regarding racism among her students.

> Yo sí he tenido muchos problemas ¿verdad? Porque como soy chaparrita y bien morena y bien chula, ¿verdad?(risa) A mí me han dicho los estudiantes 'Yo no he conocido a mexicanos profesionales. Los únicos que he visto son los que the hired help. ¿Verdad? Me dicen, 'Los de la pista. Los migrant workers.' Me dicen, 'I only know migrant workers. Mexicans are migrant workers.' Y me cuestionan a mí mi preparación. Me dicen 'Where did you get your degree? Where did you study?' Desde el primer día. Y al principio pensaba que era cuestión de curiosidad, ¿no? Pero a veces se ponen bien pesados.

> I have had many problems because I'm so short and dark and cute, right. (laughter) The students have said to me 'I haven't ever met any Mexican professionals. The only ones that I have seen are the hired help.' Right. They say to me 'The ones from the highway. The migrant workers.' They say to me 'I only know migrant workers. Mexicans are migrant workers.' And they question my [academic] preparation. They say 'Where did you get your degree? Where did you study?' From the very first day. And at first I thought that it was just a question of curiosity, right. But sometimes they get really annoying.

This particular professor goes on to say that this behavior also occurs with other women professors (Anglo and Hispanic). Thus, she concludes that is both a problem of racism and sexism, and that the bottom line is lack of respect for her as a professional.

Though some of the above topics may appear to be unrelated to racism in the SNS classroom, the overlapping of many of the -isms should be underscored. It is sometimes difficult to discuss one without the other(s). For example, in a conversation with Margarita she was explaining how she sometimes felt discriminated against at work. However, it was not only discrimination on the basis of race, rather it was compounded by sexism and the discrimination against her based upon her profession. Such topics are relevant in the SNS classroom because they are directly applicable to everyday life and experience.

Graman (1988, p. 441) claims that "what is needed in the field of second language pedagogy is an approach that addresses the existential, political, and axiological questions touching the lives of both students and teachers". I would further apply this notion to classes for native Spanish speakers. These learners,

though not acquiring a second language, are often acquiring a second dialect. The learning of the second dialect should be supported by existential, political, and axiological questions. This type of knowledge embodied in the curriculum will enable the students to gain a broader understanding of the world aroùnd them. Thus, the discussion of racism is entirely appropriate in the SNS classrom.

The Importance of Bilingualism

Several metaphors for bilingualism emerged during my conversations, interviews, and observations of the SNS courses. It was clear that bilingualism is something that is valued not only for cultural reasons, but for practical reasons as well. Guillermo (interview #6) referred to being bilingual as having two pairs of glasses with which to view the world. Marta (interview #1) expresses her view on bilingualism by saying "Cuando yo voy a casa yo funciono porque yo sé comer con tortilla y con tenedor. Entonces, hablando de la lengua como instrumento que tenemos que aprender a usar." (When I go home I can function because I know how to eat with a tortilla and a fork. So, [we are] speaking of language as an instrument that we have to learn how to use.) Marta demonstrated this metaphor to her students by bringing a hammer, nails, etc. to her SNS class.

Both the students and instructors are proud of being bilingual (and bicultural). Not only do they strive to maintain their language and culture, but also they strive to become more culturally and linguistically informed about them. Margarita (case

study #3), who is constantly reading to learn more about Hispanic culture, had the following to say:

> This class has encouraged me to do a lot more research. When I'm in Albuquerque or Santa Fe I go to this bookstore and I search for these books. And it gives me more of an idea of where they [her father and aunt] came from. I wouldn't go back to live there. But isn't that silly, going to just a little class and I see a beautiful culture . . ..with all that she is exposing us to I think I want to learn more about that. You know, like El Día de los Muertos.

To Margarita, being bilingual means more than knowing two languages. It also means she gains a wider understanding of her own culture. This topic was addressed in other interviews as well.

Cristina (interview #4) suggested that being bilingual and being bicultural are very much alike. You can codeswitch in a language, just as you can culture switch. In other words, you can decide which cultural lenses best fit the picture you are looking at. She noted that it is sometimes difficult for native speakers to reach the point where they recognize their language and culture as an asset and a privilege. The students with whom I've worked have demonstrated a clear understanding of this concept.

These metaphors about the relationship between language and culture were something that I did not initially seek to uncover. However, the participants began to offer them without my even asking. When I did ask the answers were varied. Pilar (case study #2) responded: "I guess for me it's a river. That's our life. It gives life for my family. And my grandfather talked a lot

about cruzando el río (crossing the river)." Carlos (interview #7) suggested "Es mi familia." (It's my family.)

I will end this section with a quote from a letter that Margarita (case study #2) wrote in response to a New York Times column about the issue of English Only. She brought the column and her response to class to share with everyone at a *fiesta* one evening. She wrote:

> The roots of many Hispanics on U.S. soil date back to the 1500's. Bilingualism is more than a language. It is a culture, a history. Hispanics do not want to divide this country. Hispanics are a part --not apart --of American culture. Much of the Hispanic culture is firmly embedded in "our" American history and culture. So when you write that we need to preserve and protect "our culture" I agree (unless your "our culture" excludes large segments of U.S. citizens) and bilingualism will help foster just that. Bilingualism enhances, not divides, our American culture.

Summary of Case Studies and Interview Data

The following points were noted to be significant findings that emerged from the case studies, interview data, and participant observations fieldnotes.

1. The role of parents in the transmission of oral language is extremely important. For the participants who spoke Spanish with their parents (and extended family) at home, the likelihood that they will pass Spanish on to their children seems to be higher. This finding is similar to Carrasco and Riegelhaupt's (1989) research which indicated that bilingualism prevented the loss of the Chamorro language in Guam for future generations.

2. The role of the grandparents, and especially the grandmother, is very important in the transmission of Spanish (both oral and written). For students not raised in Spanish-speaking homes, the grandparents were sometimes the only people with whom they spoke Spanish.

3. The students who were raised in non Spanish-speaking homes but spoke Spanish with their grandparents self-assessed their Spanish language abilities higher than those who did not mention using Spanish with their grandparents.

4. Languagism in school and community environments creates barriers for the further acquisition of Spanish and cultural knowledge.

5. The materials used in SNS classrooms need to reflect the needs and characteristics of the students. For example, a grammar book for native speakers from Spain does not suit the needs of most bilingual native speakers in the United States.

6. The SNS classroom provides a safe environment that fosters cultural identity, solidarity, and pride among the students and instructors.

7. Learning how to read and write standard Spanish is very important to the participants. Three of the people interviewed want to be teachers. One wants to be a college Spanish professor and two are interested in bilingual education. It is critical that these individuals develop these skills. A proficient bilingual teacher can enable the further acquisition of the first language for his/her students. The bilingual teacher who is not proficient may constrain the further acquisition of the first language.

8. Racism was a common experience among the participants. The SNS class provides a safe environment in which to explore issues related to racism (and languagism). This notion was demonstrated in Barkin's (1981a) presentation of her SNS students' poetry. Issues of racism and identity were very evident in this poetry. Such freedom of expression may be inhibited in a mixed class of native and non-native speakers. This notion was corroborated in fieldnotes, interviews, case studies, and surveys.

Summary

This chapter presented the data from the surveys and data from the interviews (with case study participants and others), field notes, and participant observation. See pages 104 and 136 for detailed summaries of the descriptive, case study, and interview data.

Several themes emerged during this research regarding the participants attitudes toward the Spanish language, how and from whom the participants learned Spanish, their attitudes toward language maintenance, and their attitudes toward participation in SNS courses.

The attitudes expressed by the participants in this study were very favorable toward the Spanish language. The ability to understand, speak, read, and write Spanish were all rated very high, even by those participants not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. There were also cultural attributes associated with the language that rated very positively with the participants. For all

but one of the respondents the ability to speak Spanish enhanced how the person felt about him/her self.

The participants overwhelmingly expressed their desire to keep the Spanish language alive. All of the respondents who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes responded favorably to acquiring literacy skills as well as other communicative skills in Spanish. Of the respondents who were not raised in Spanish speaking homes only one claimed that these skills were not important.

The respondents in this study rated themselves fairly high in their abilities to speak, write, read, and understand spoken Spanish. However, the theme of *vergüenza* (shame) was mentioned on several occasions in classes, in interviews, and in the open-ended survey questions. For example, Margarita (case study #3) told me that she was embarrassed to speak Spanish to me when she first met me because she knew that I had a Master's Degree in Spanish. She didn't want to make any embarrassing mistakes. Other students commented that their Spanish was "icky" or that they had "no confidence" in their Spanish language abilities.

Participants in this study expressed the desire to learn "proper" Spanish. Even though the respondents indicated very high comprehension and productive skills on their self-assessment, they indicated that these skills were not "proper" skills. One SNS student (Sergio, case study #1) remarked "We know we don't speak proper Spanish, that's why we take these classes." I believe that the discrepancy between these types of comments and the students self-assessment demonstrates a certain lack of

confidence regarding the Spanish that these participants use to communicate.

Some of the participants expressed only being able to express certain topics in Spanish. They claimed that words in the Spanish language posses an expressive power that is not felt in the English language. This is an experience that has been documented in other research (Solé, 1977). Even people who are balanced bilinguals express such views. This perception could be due to the diglossic situation of Spanish.

There was a great deal of pride associated with the participants knowing Spanish and being part of a culture associated with that language. Students participating in this study courses cultivated this pride in their discussions and interactions. Other participants cultivated their cultural pride through their participation in groups such as MEChA, HHS, LULAC, or SHPE However, some of these students were not actively involved in maintaining or revitalizing Spanish as a part of their culture.

The participants in this study showed some reluctance when it came to speaking Spanish with other native speakers. For example, one day in class a student was commenting on a certain school's staff (who are Spanish speakers from the U.S.) to speak with a custodial person from a Spanish-speaking country. His perception was that the staff was acting snobbish. However, other students in the class said that they thought it was because the people were embarrassed to speak Spanish. The students perceive native speakers from other Spanish-speaking countries

to have more of a prestigious variety of Spanish. This sentiment was repeated on several occasions throughout the study.

Related to the participants' attitudes toward other native speakers' language is this reluctance to speak Spanish to native speakers from other countries. For example, even though the participants who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes expressed confidence in their Spanish, they expressed that they were less comfortable speaking Spanish with Spanish-speaking people from other countries than with bilinguals from this country. Sergio (case study #1) remarked that "Here [in the U.S.] it's OK because if you don't know the word in Spanish you can just say it in English and keep on going." This is a communicative strategy the participants can't use with native-speakers who don't speak English or are not used to codeswitching when speaking Spanish.

For the participants in this study the home was a critical factor in language maintenance. When asked on the survey with whom the participants spoke Spanish, 61 people responded that they speak Spanish with their families. This includes respondents who said they were raised in non Spanish-speaking homes. Many of these respondents indicated it was with their grandparents with whom they spoke Spanish.

Among the participants in the study that were raised speaking Spanish at home, there were some that indicated there was a shift to English in their homes as they grew up. This shift signified a loss of language for younger siblings. These siblings are said not to use Spanish nearly as much as their older brothers

and sisters. Likewise, the participants noted, these siblings have not transmitted Spanish to their children.

The home is a critical factor in language transmission and maintenance. This topic has received much attention in the literature (Fishman, 1991; Lopez, 1982; Marshall, 1994) . The surveys in this study verify this fact. The respondents who were raised in Spanish-speaking homes demonstrated a more favorable response rate to many of the items on the survey than the participants who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes.

The SNS classroom provides a safe environment for the native speakers, a kind of "second home" where they can expand their Spanish language skills. The notion of the *segundo hogar* (second home) was first posited by Carrasco (1984). His research focused on children in the bilingual classroom. However, I believe that we can extend this concept to adults. A safe learning environment that fosters respect and care for the first language is important for both children and adults.

Finally, educational institutions do have a role they can play in language maintenance. As noted in several interviews and a majority of the surveys, many native Spanish speakers are just that: Speakers. They are not literate in the Spanish language. This is not a local phenomenon. The statistics from Dade County Florida where 98% of the high school graduates leave school without being fluent (or literate) in Spanish are a clear reminder of that fact.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of the Study

This study explored the needs, attitudes, and demographic characteristics of bilingual native speakers of Spanish. It also examined how students acquired their Spanish and their reasons for participation (or lack thereof) in Spanish for Native Speaker courses.

The case studies provided the researcher with themes to be incorporated into the surveys and interviews. They enabled the researcher to reveal critical issues that provide vital insight and knowledge needed to create a more appropriate and culturally responsive learning and teaching environment for United States native Spanish speakers.

The following is a summary of the findings from the descriptive and case study interview data:

1. The self assessment for the four skills areas (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) of respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes was significantly higher than for those who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes. For those raised in Spanish-speaking homes, this indicates a confidence and awareness of their Spanish language abilities.
2. Both groups self-assessed their abilities in the four skills in the same order: (1) listening, (2) speaking, (3) reading, and (4) writing.

3. Both groups rated the importance of the four skills in the same order: (1) listening, (2) speaking, (3) reading, and (4) writing.

4. All of the older students in the study indicated that they were raised in Spanish-speaking homes. Not one student over the age of 29 reported being raised in a non Spanish-speaking home. This corroborates Hernández-Chávez' (1995) findings from the 1990 US Census that more and more young people are not acquiring the language at home.

5. The respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes reported themselves as being equally as able to express themselves in Spanish and English. This is probably because they have had extended use of Spanish in natural settings. Only 20% of the respondents not raised in Spanish-speaking homes agreed that they could express themselves equally as well in either language.

6. Those respondents raised in Spanish-speaking homes expressed a much higher level of confidence about their Spanish. This is a critical issue because these students will probably be more likely to transmit the language to their children and use it in everyday settings.

7. Both groups expressed that the Spanish language is a critical part of who they are. However, both groups also acknowledged that a person does not have to know how to speak Spanish in order to be considered Chicano or Latino.

8. Both groups indicated their highest comfort level was in speaking Spanish with their families. Their rate of discomfort increases as they move away from the family and the home. This

is an indicator of the role that schools and universities can play in helping Spanish-speakers to broaden the domains in which they can use Spanish.

9. The role of parents in the transmission of oral language is extremely important. For the participants who spoke Spanish with their parents (and extended family) at home, the likelihood that they will pass Spanish on to their children is higher. This is corroborated by Riegelhaupt and Carrasco's (1989) research on the Chamorro language in Guam and Fishman's model presented in the Review of the Literature (p. 29).

10. The role of the grandparents, and especially the grandmother, is very important in the transmission of Spanish (both oral and written). For students not raised in Spanish-speaking homes, the grandparents were sometimes the only people with whom they spoke Spanish. This is a similar finding to that of Mejías and Anderson (1988) who reported respondents to their questionnaire using Spanish in order to get along with their families.

11. The students who were raised in non Spanish-speaking homes but spoke Spanish with their grandparents self-assessed their Spanish language abilities higher than those who did not mention using Spanish with their grandparents.

12. Languagism and prescriptivism in school and community environments create barriers for the further acquisition of Spanish and cultural knowledge.

13. Racism was a common experience among the participants. The SNS class provides a safe environment in which to explore

issues related to racism (and languagism). This notion was demonstrated in Barkin's (1981a) presentation of her SNS students' poetry. Issues of racism and identity were very evident in this poetry. Such freedom of expression may be inhibited in a mixed class of native and non-native speakers. Furthermore, such findings corroborate Peñalosa's (1981) assertion that languagism be studied in conjunction with racism.

14. The materials used in SNS classrooms need to reflect the needs and characteristics of the students.

15. The SNS classroom provides a safe environment that fosters cultural identity, solidarity, and pride among the students and instructors.

16. Learning how to read and write standard Spanish is very important to the participants. Three of the people interviewed want to be teachers. One wants to be a college Spanish professor and two are interested in bilingual education. It is critical that these individuals develop the four skills areas. Riegelhaupt (1994) explains that the teachers' proficiency in the primary language is a prerequisite for the students' continued development of their primary language.

Implications and Recommendations

A majority of the participants in this study indicated that their family was a major influence on language maintenance and acquisition. Even for those students who were not raised in Spanish-speaking households, family was the primary group with whom they used Spanish (when they used it). This corroborates

Fishman's (1994) lap top concept. The role of the parents and grandparents in transmitting Spanish is critical to the continued development of that language. Furthermore, the parents' and grandparents' role in helping bridge the linguistic and cultural gaps between home and school cannot be underestimated.

Spanish for native speakers programs and courses provide a place where students can use their language with other native speakers in an educational environment. These courses can also foster cultural and linguistic pride. It is an environment where students can discuss their culture and linguistic abilities *sin vergüenza* (without shame). It is a kind of "second home" where students can use their home language and learn to expand upon it.

Language, as Peñalosa (1981) suggested, is partly valued by the things that it symbolizes. If a language symbolizes home or *el hogar* (Carrasco, 1984) to the student, then the students' ability to transfer this notion to a classroom can enhance their learning within that environment. Thus, being able to use the language variety from the *hogar* in a class where it is acceptable is very important. The SNS program can start with the language from the *hogar* and build upon it. The ability to do this will also expand what the language symbolizes for the students.

The fact that negative attitudes towards nonstandard language exist is noted both directly and indirectly in the literature (Carrasco and Riegelhaupt, 1994; Galindo 1995; Sánchez, 1993) . The participants' comments in this study demonstrate that they have been victims of these negative attitudes as well as perpetuators of them. This comment is

supported by the participants' desire to learn "proper" Spanish and the comments referring to "icky" or "rancho" Spanish. Self perceptions such as these will sometimes discourage the students from communicating in Spanish.

The question is not whether or not we teach standard Spanish in SNS courses. The participants in this study overwhelmingly indicated that learning standard Spanish was a goal. Moreover, SNS classrooms can serve as a "safe place" to explore and develop appreciation for non-standard dialects. The theme of pride can be enhanced through such activities. It will also lower the feeling of *vergüenza* (shame) so many of our students feel about their language. This notion is extremely important if we expect people to expand the use of Spanish beyond the home domain.

Educational institutions can have great influence on Spanish language maintenance and revitalization efforts. The following are some suggestions for these institutions:

1. Develop and implement more SNS programs for the native speaker population. These programs should be of at least four semesters in duration. My research indicates that the needs of this population are so diverse that they cannot be met by anything less than that. These findings corroborate Barkin's (1981a) suggestions to establish such programs.

2. My data indicate a need for placement measures designed specifically for native Spanish speakers and for those Hispanic students not raised in Spanish-speaking homes but who have had extended contact with Spanish-speaking relatives. The SNS

population is so diverse in its needs, that the students must be adequately assessed before placement.

3. Increase activities that elevate the prestige of the Spanish language and the cultures related to that language. The language attitudes exhibited in Galindo's (1995) research and my research indicate the validity and value of the Spanish language as it is spoken in the United States is in need of increased recognition.

4. Sociolinguistic training for all teachers to enhance their understanding of attitudinal variables regarding language maintenance and acquisition.

5. Training for bilingual teachers in all content areas. Three of the participants from the Spanish Composition class for Native Speakers indicated a desire to teach Spanish. These individuals need to be proficient in Spanish and be able to employ a variety of registers and functions in Spanish. The ability to do so enables the further acquisition of Spanish for these teachers' students.

6. Spanish language immersion programs for those people who desire them. These programs might better suit the needs for those students not raised in Spanish-speaking homes, but who have had exposure to the language from grandparents or other extended family. The participants in this study who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes indicated that they (for the most part) would not feel comfortable participating in a class with native speakers. However, several of them indicated on their self-assessments that they considered themselves "average" in the four skills areas. I believe that these students' needs might be better met in an immersion type environment.

7. Textbook and material development for SNS programs at all levels. My review of the literature shows the need for further development of SNS texts. The most recent textbooks are broken into two levels: *Primer curso* (first course), and *segundo curso* (second course). Textbooks could be developed in a sequence that enhances the listening, speaking, reading, writing skills (in that order). There should be an increased focus on reading and writing activities as the students progress. Other characteristics that the SNS textbook should contain include: (1) an emphasis on deepening the students' sense of cultural and ethnic identity; (2) helping the student to achieve full command of standard Spanish in order to achieve his/her full potential as a bilingual person; (3) deepening the students' sense of cultural appreciation that encompasses all Hispanic cultures (i.e., studying literature written in Caló), and (4) a critical perspective that allows the students and teachers to explore the political, socioeconomic, race, and gender related questions that influence the lives of the students and the teacher.

8. The SNS teacher should have command of both standard Spanish and an awareness of the dialects spoken by his or her students. The teacher should also be able to facilitate the students' ability to shift from one variety to another according to the circumstances, as was suggested by Sánchez (1993).

9. My research indicates that the use of an attitudinal and demographic survey could enable teachers to identify some of their students' needs and attitudes that could influence these students' further acquisition of the Spanish language.

Recommendations for Further Study

Research with populations like the one in this study is extremely important. The Hispanic population is increasing everyday. Efforts to conduct more research with the adult Hispanic population is needed in order to identify and address this population's needs in regards to Spanish language maintenance and acquisition.

I provide the following list of future research topics and agendas generated by this study:

1. Compare language attitudes of people over the age of 30 with people between the ages of 18 and 29.
2. Research the effects of racism on language maintenance and revitalization efforts.
3. Study the attitudes of Hispanic college students by grouping students according to major. (The engineering majors in this study differed markedly from the other groups.)
4. Compare attitudes and performance of native speakers who are in Spanish for Native Speakers programs with those who are participating in courses that are designed for non-native speakers.
5. Examine language attitudes between SNS instructors who have and have not received sociolinguistic training.
6. Examine how SNS courses relate to certain topics in Peace Education (i.e. conflict resolution, inter-cultural communication).
7. Examine language attitudes of Hispanic students who were not raised in Spanish-speaking homes.

8. Investigate whether or not people who have had access to bilingual education as children and young adults are more likely to transmit their first language to their children.

9. Investigate the hypothesis that Hispanics who are proficient in listening comprehension in Spanish but not in speaking are experiencing a type of over extended silent period (Personal communication with Florencia Riegelhaupt, April 9, 1997). For further information on the notion of the "silent period" see Krashen (1981, 1982).

10. Examine the SNS teacher's attitude toward his/her own speech.

11. Examine the SNS teacher's attitude toward his/her students' speech.

Conclusion

The further acquisition of Spanish during late adolescence and adulthood is an area in need of further investigation. In the present study, I noted that this population is clearly interested in learning Spanish. They place a high value on the Spanish language and on the importance of maintaining and continuing to learn Spanish. Although many are comfortable in using Spanish at home, they claimed to have difficulty and /or a low level of confidence when they are required to use Spanish in other settings. One of these settings is the classroom.

Spanish for Native Speakers programs provide natives with the opportunity to develop confidence in their Spanish language skills in the atmosphere of their *segundo hogar* (Carrasco, 1984).

The classroom supports their acquisition of a variety of Spanishes and especially seeks to provide them with the kind of Spanish necessary for interaction with members of their own and of other Spanish-speaking linguistic communities.

The optimal SNS program should continue to encourage language acquisition and maintenance of students' home language in home, community, and academic settings. SNS programs should help to prepare students for the working world where they are often steps ahead of those who learned Spanish as a second language in school. They help to develop a strong sense of cultural identity, partly created by an atmosphere of solidarity among the teachers and students. These courses provide a place where cultural pride and solidarity are cultivated. This atmosphere allows students to express their feeling about their bilingualism and those factors that have prevented it from flourishing. These factors often include racism and languagism. Teachers, parents, grandparents, siblings, and other members of the extended family and community need to join forces in working toward the goal of language maintenance in United States Spanish speaking communities.

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APPENDIX A
IRB APPLICATION

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF INVESTIGATIONS INVOLVING THE USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

1. Principal Investigator's Name: Gloria Delany-Barmann

   Co-Investigator: N/A

   Department: Center for Excellence in Education Phone: 523-1882 Box #:5774

2. If you are a student, provide the following:

   Faculty Sponsor: Dr. Roberto Luís Carrasco, Center for Excellence in Education

   Phone: 523-7148

   Is this your thesis or dissertation research? Yes X No ___

3. Title of project: An Ethnography of Native Speakers of Spanish in the Spanish Classroom

4. Has this project previously been considered by the IRB? Yes X **case number 95.0177** No ___

5. Is a proposal for external support being submitted? Yes_____ No X
If yes, you must submit one complete copy of that proposal as soon as it is available and complete the following:

   a. Is notification of Human Subject approval required? Yes X No ____

   b. Is this a renewal application? Yes X No ___

   c. Sponsor's Name: Dr. Roberto Luís Carrasco

   d. Project Period: From: October 1996 To: April 1997

6. You must include copies of all pertinent information such as, a copy of the questionnaire you will be using or other survey instruments, informed consent documents, letters of approval from cooperating institutions, copy of external support proposals, etc.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. PROPOSED RESEARCH PROJECT

A. Provide a brief summary of the proposed research. Include major hypotheses and research design.

The research project that I am proposing is an ethnographic study of native Spanish speakers in the Spanish classroom. The purpose of this study is to develop a better understanding of the needs of these individuals in Spanish classrooms where Spanish is taught either as a foreign language or as a course specifically for native speakers of Spanish. Because this study is ethnographic in nature, I am not forming my hypotheses before doing this research. Rather, I will leave it to my informants to define what the important issues are. The findings from this ethnography will then generate hypotheses that can be tested by others in the future.

The research design of this project consists of three distinct exercises and a final analysis of the data collected. I will use participant - observation as one method of collecting data. I will participate and observe in a Spanish for Native Speakers class one day a week at Northern Arizona University. Additionally, I will also observe in three beginning Spanish courses where there are native speakers of the language enrolled. This will allow me to observe native speakers in two different types of classrooms.

The second method I will use will be interviews. I will interview a total of seven people. I will interview four native speakers of Spanish about their experiences in learning Spanish. I will also be asking questions regarding language maintenance and how they perceive the current system of teaching Spanish to native speakers. In addition to this I will also interview three Spanish professors, also native speakers of Spanish, to gain better understanding of the pedagogical issues they feel are important for native speakers (be they in a course for native speakers or a Spanish as a foreign language course). All of these interviews will be recorded, transcribed, coded, and analyzed using Data Collector software.

Surveys will be conducted with all willing native Spanish speakers who are enroiled in Spanish 101 and 102 at Northern Arizona University. I will also conduct the surveys with the Native Spanish speakers who participate in the Spanish for native speakers group.

The three major components of this design, participant-observation, interviews, and survey, will happen concurrently. The participant-observation and survey will assist me in developing relevant questions for the interviews. The interviews and the participants-observation will both help me to identify cultural domains that are important to this particular research project. The survey will also buttress the identification of cultural domains and the identification of language attitudes.

The final analysis of the data will be done with the assistance of Data Collector, a software program designed especially for qualitative research.

B. Describe the source(s) of subjects and the selection criteria. Specifically, how did you obtain potential subjects, and how will you contact them?

Last year, after finishing my project (case number 95.0177), four of the participants approached me and suggested that we keep meeting as a Spanish class. The class that we were in at Coconino Community College had been canceled. These students will be the main participants in this project. I will also ask native Spanish speakers participating in Spanish 101 and 102 at Northern Arizona University to fill out a survey regarding language attitudes toward Spanish. I will not be asking these students to participate in interviews. The instructors I will contact in person, during office hours, to inquire about their willingness to participate in this research.

C. Informed consent: Describe the consent process and attach all consent documents.

I will notify the participants that I am researching the already described project. I will give informed consent documents to all who participate in the interview process.

I will use the document provided by the IRB to obtain that consent. Those students who fill out surveys but do not participate in interviews will be demonstrating their consent by volunteering to fill out the survey.

D. Procedures: Provide a step-by-step description of each procedure, including the frequency, duration, and location of each procedure.

Participant-observation: I will attend one Saturday morning class every week at Northern Arizona University (NAU). The class is a two and one half hour class with five students including myself. I will have a total of fifty hours of participant -observation at NAU.

I will also observe in three NAU classrooms for a total of nine hours. All of these classes are located in the Modern Languages building.

Interviews: I will interview seven individuals. Some of these individuals may be interviewed a multiple number of times. The interviews will be conducted where ever it is convenient for the interviewee and will last approximately an hour.

Survey: The survey will be distributed during the participants' class time. As not all students in the class will be participating (because they are not all native Spanish speakers), the students will complete the survey outside of class time. The survey will be returned to me via a return box that will be located in the office of Modern Languages.

E. How will confidentiality of the data be maintained?

The informants names will not be stored with the data. The informed consent sheets will be stored apart in a locked drawer. The surveys are anonymous. The data will be coded and stored in a locked office with limited access.

F. Describe all known and anticipated risks to the subject including side effect, risks of normal treatment delay, etc.

The informants could have some uneasiness triggered by my questions because I am not a native to this culture. My fluency in Spanish could also have negative effects.

I am fluent in Spanish, but I generally speak a very standard dialect. I will have to be very clear about my respect of non-standard dialects in order to convey my eagerness to learn from the participants.

G. Describe the anticipated benefits to subjects, and the importance of the knowledge that may reasonably be expected to result.

I expect that the knowledge from this research will provide educators and native Spanish speakers with a rationale for providing special classes and programs for native speakers of Spanish. This research will provide insights into what the specific needs a native speaker may have, and what previous knowledge they bring with them into the classroom. The subjects may use this study to reaffirm that they do possess a different knowledge base in Spanish and bring to the classroom unique needs that are not met by learning Spanish as a foreign language. This study may promote a wider variety of classes available to native speakers of the Spanish language. If this is the case, language maintenance within this community is more likely to occur.

II. SIGNATURES

A. I certify to the best of my knowledge the information presented herein is an accurate reflection of the proposed research project.

_____ _____

Principal Investigator Date

_____ _____

Co-Investigator Date

B. Approval by faculty sponsor:

I affirm the accuracy of this application, and I accept the responsibility for the conduct of this research, the supervision of human subjects, and maintenance of informed consent documentation as required by the IRB.

_____ _____

Faculty Sponsor Date

C. Approval by Departmental Committee/Chair

I confirm the accuracy of the information stated in this application. I am familiar with, and approve of the procedures that involve human subjects.

_____ _____

Department Chair, Dean Date

IRB Determination

Exempt from Review ( ) Expedited Review ( ) Full IRB Review ( )

( ) Disapproval

( ) Approval

a. approval, subject to minor changes
b. approval in general but requiring major alternations clarifications or assurances
c. restricted approval

Comments:

_____

Institutional Review Board Chair Date

_____

Institutional Review Board Administrator Date

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Project Title: An Ethnography of Native Speakers in the Spanish Classroom

Investigator: Gloria-Delany-Barmann, Center for Excellence in Education, 523-1882

You are being asked to participate in a project conducted through Northern Arizona University. The University requires that you give your signed agreement to participate in this project.

The investigator will explain to you in detail the purpose of the project, the procedures to be used, and the potential benefits and possible risks of participation. You may ask her any questions you have to help you understand the project. A basic explanation of the project is written below. Please read this explanation and discuss with the researcher any questions you may have.

If you then decide to participate in the project, please sign on the last page of this form in the presence of the person who explained the project to you. You should be given a copy of this form to keep.

1. **Nature and Purpose of the Project:** The purpose of this study is to develop a better understanding of the needs of native Spanish speakers in the Spanish classroom.

2. **Explanation of Procedures:** The researcher will participate and observe in one Spanish for native speakers course. She will also conduct some interviews with willing participants. In these interviews she will ask questions regarding the participants acquisition of Spanish both in and out of the classroom. Surveys will be given to native Spanish speakers who participate in sections of Spanish 101 or Spansih 102 at Northern Arizona University.

3. **Discomforts and Risks:** The risks and discomforts will be minimal. The participants could feel somewhat uncomfortable answering questions about their particular experiences with Spanish. The interviews will be conducted in Spanish or English to minimize the discomfort of the participant. If the participant feels at risk by sharing cultural information, they are **not** obligated in any way to share this information. The interviews will be taped, which also may be a source of discomfort.

4. **Benefits:** The participant may discover aspects of their knowledge about Spanish that will help them in their use of that language. The information will also help many other native speakers of Spanish by helping the researcher to develop a rationale supporting specific classes for native speakers.

5. **Confidentiality:** All information provided by the participant is confidential. The participants names will not be stored with the data obtained. The data will be stored in a locked office with limited access. Pseudonyms will be used instead of the participants name.

6. **Refusal/Withdrawal:** Refusal to participate in this study will have no effect on any future services you may be entitled to from the University. Anyone who agrees to participate in this study is free to withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty.

I understand also that it is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, and I believe that reasonable safeguards have been taken to minimize both the known and potential but unknown risks.

_____ _____

Signature **Date**

_____ _____

Witness **Date**

THE DATED APPROVAL STAMP ON THIS CONSENT FORM INDICATES THAT THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND APPROVED BY THE NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS IN RESEARCH (520) 523-3889.

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APPENDIX C

LETTER TO STUDENTS

January 27, 1997

Dear Spanish Student:

I am a doctoral candidate in the Center for Excellence in Education at Northern Arizona University. I would like to request your assistance in completing my dissertation research. As part of my inquiry of Spanish speakers I am surveying participants in your Spanish course to help me to determine the language experiences and attitudes of Spanish speakers and heritage language learners. The heritage language learner is someone who is in the process of learning a language that was not transmitted to them intergenerationally (for one reason or another). For example, your grandparents are Spanish speakers but your communication with them and your parents took place primarily in English.

The information provided through the questionnaires will be presented in my doctoral dissertation and defense. It may also be used in future conference presentations. *Your responses to the questionnaire will be strictly confidential; no individual will be identified with his or her responses.*

Your response is very important to the success of this research. The information you provide is of great interest to practicing teachers and researchers in the field. It will aid in curriculum development and in the proposal of Spanish for Native Speakers programs. Completing the questionnaire should take no longer than 10 minutes. I appreciate your completing and returning the questionnaire to the office of Modern Languages or to your instructor by February 7, 1997. A return box will be located near the front desk.

Sincerely,

Gloria Delany-Barmann
Center for Excellence in Education
Box 5774
Flagstaff, AZ 86011
(520) 523-1882

APPENDIX D

LETTER TO FACULTY

January 30, 1997

Dear Spanish Instructor:

I am a doctoral candidate in the Center for Excellence in Education at Northern Arizona University. I would like to request your assistance in completing my dissertation research. As part of my dissertation inquiry I would like to survey participants in your Spanish 101 and/or 102 course(s) to help me to determine the language experiences and attitudes of Spanish speakers. What I am asking *you* to do is the following: 1) Identify any native Spanish speaker (NSS) or heritage language learner you may have in your class, and (2) give the survey to that individual. There is a return box located in the Modern Languages Office.

Some of your students may not consider themselves native Spanish speakers. In this case, the term heritage language learner may be more applicable. The heritage language learner is someone who is in the process of learning a language that was not successfully transmitted to them intergenerationally (for one reason or another). As noted above, I would also like these students to participate in the survey. *The responses to the questionnaire will be strictly confidential; no individual will be identified with his or her responses.*

The information provided through the questionnaires is not the primary source of data for my dissertation. However, I believe that the data derived from the questionnaires will buttress the interviews and surveys that I am conducting with other students.

Your assistance is very important to the success of this research. The information that will be provided is of great interest to practicing teachers and researchers in the field. It will aid in curriculum development and in the proposal of Spanish for Native Speakers programs.

Thank you, in advance, for considering my request. I appreciate your help.

Sincerely,

Gloria Delany-Barmann
Center for Excellence in Education
Box 5774
Flagstaff, AZ 86011
(520) 523-1882

APPENDIX E

SPANISH LANGUAGE ATTITUDES QUESTIONNAIRE

Spanish
Language Attitudes Questionnaire

In order to categorize the information on the questionnaire some demographic information is needed. Please answer the following questions about yourself. Your responses will be kept anonymous. Thank you.

1. How old are you?

a. 18-22 b. 23-29 c. 30-39 d. 40-49 e. 50-59

2. What is your gender?

a. Male b. Female

3. Are you a:

a. Freshman b. Sophomore c. Junior d. Senior e. Graduate

4. I am currently enrolled in:

a. SPA 101 b. SPA 102 c. Spanish for Native Speakers d. Other _____

5. The highest level Spanish course I have taken is

a. High School Spanish How many years? _____
b. First Year College Spanish
c. Second Year College Spanish
d. Third Year College Spanish
e. Fourth Year College Spanish
f. Other _____

6. Where were you born?

a. U.S. b. Mexico c. Other Spanish-Speaking Country d. Other

7. Did you grow up in a Spanish-speaking household?

a. Yes b. No

A. Please assess your abilities in the following areas.

1. Spanish Reading Comprehension

poor		average		excellent
1	2	3	4	5

2. **Spanish Oral Comprehension**

poor		average		excellent
1	2	3	4	5

3. **Spanish Writing**

poor		average		excellent
1	2	3	4	5

4. **Spanish Speaking**

poor		average		excellent
1	2	3	4	5

B. **For the statements below, please circle the response that best expresses how you feel: whether you strongly disagree with the statement, moderately disagree, mildly disagree, mildy agree, moderately agree, or strongly agree. If the statement is not applicable, please write NA next to the statement.**

1. I can express myself equally as well in Spanish as I can in English.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

2. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish at home.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

3. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish in class.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

4. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish in public places.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

5. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with bilingual (Spanish/English) native Spanish speakers.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

6. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with bilingual (Spanish/English) non native Spanish speakers.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

7. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish to my family.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

8. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish to my extended family in the United States.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

9. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish to my extended family residing in other Spanish speaking countries.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

10. I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for native speakers of Spanish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

11. I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for non-native speakers (i.e., the traditional SPA 101 course).

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

12. The ability to speak Spanish is very important to me.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

13. The ability to understand spoken Spanish is very important to me.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

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14. My Spanish language is a critical part of who I am.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

15. I feel confident about my Spanish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

16. In order to be considered Latino/Chicano you must speak Spanish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

17. The ability to read in Spanish is very important to me.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

18. The ability to write in Spanish is very important to me.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

19. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with Spanish speakers from other countries.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

20. Spanish is a critical part of Latino/Chicano culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

21. Knowing Spanish makes me feel good about myself.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

C. Open-ended Survey Questions
Please respond to the following questions. If you need additional space please use the extra space on the back of this questionnaire. If the question is not applicable, please write NA next to the question.

1. How did you learn Spanish?

2. With whom do you speak Spanish?

3. Where do you speak Spanish?

4. What are (or what would be) your reasons for participating in a Spanish for Native Speakers course?

5. For you, what defines a native speaker of Spanish?

6. How do non-Hispanic students in your Spanish classes react to you being in class?

7. Are there times when you speak only Spanish? Tell me about them.

Would you be willing to participate in a <u>brief</u> interview to further discuss these issues? If so, please leave name and phone number on questionnaire. Again, thank you for your cooperation. It is greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

Table 16

Language and Culture Survey Items of Participants Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Survey Item	1	2	3	4	5
1. I can express myself equally as well in Spanish as I can in English	9.68%	14.52%	22.58%	29.03%	24.19%
2. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish at home.	6.45%	4.84%	9.68%	19.35%	59.68%
3. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish in class.	9.68%	8.06%	20.97%	17.74%	43.55%
4. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish in Public Places.	9.68%	6.45%	17.74%	14.52%	51.61%
5. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with bilingual (Span/Eng)native Spanish speakers.	9.68%	6.45%	8.06%	24.19%	51.61%
6. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with bilingual (Span/Eng) non-native speakers.	9.68%	3.23%	33.87%	12.90%	40.32%
7. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish to my family.	6.45%	3.23%	8.06%	14.52%	67.74%
8. I feel comfortable speaking SPanish to my extended family in the U.S.	6.45%	4.84%	16.13%	16.13%	56.45%
9. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish to my extended family residing in other Spanish-speaking countries.	8.06	4.84	14.52%	12.90%	53.23%
10. I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for native speakers of Spanish.	9.23%	9.23%	15.38%	24.62%	33.85%
11. I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for non-native speakers.	19.35%	8.06%	16.13%	22.58%	29.03%
12. The ability to speak Spanish is very important to me.	0%	0%	3.23%	9.68%	87.10%
13. The ability to understand spoken Spanish is very important to me.	0%	0%	0%	9.68%	90.32%
14. My Spanish Language is a critical part of who I am.	1.61%	0%	6.45%	11.29%	80.65%

15. I feel confident about my Spanish.	11.29%	4.84%	16.13%	19.35%	48.39%
16. In order to be considered Latino/Chicano you must speak Spanish.	25.81%	22.58%	16.13%	16.13%	19.35%
17. The ability to read in Spanish is very important to me.	0%	0%	8.06%	17.74%	74.19%
18. The ability to write in Spanish is very important to me.	0%	0%	8.06%	16.13%	75.81%
19. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with Spanish speakers from other countries.	9.68%	8.06%	16.13%	24.19%	41.94%
20. Spanish is a critical part of Latino/Chicano culture.	1.61%	1.61%	11.29%	27.42%	58.06%
21. Knowing Spanish makes me feel good about myself.	0%	0%	8.06%	11.29%	79.03%

Language and Culture Survey Items of Participants not Raised in Spanish-Speaking Homes

Survey Item	1	2	3	4	5
1. I can express myself equally as well in Spanish as I can in English	55%	20%	15%	5%	0%
2. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish at home.	40%	25%	10%	10%	10%
3. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish in class.	15%	15%	40%	10%	10%
4. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish in Public Places.	40%	20%	15%	10%	5%
5. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with bilingual (Span/Eng)native Spanish speakers.	35%	10%	35%	5%	5%
6. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with bilingual (Span/Eng) non-native speakers.	20%	20%	25%	15%	15%
7. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish to my family.	15%	25%	30%	10%	20%
8. I feel comfortable speaking SPanish to my extended family in the U.S.	20%	25%	25%	5%	10%
9. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish to my extended family residing in other Spanish-speaking countries.	25%	25%	5%	0%	5%
10. I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for native speakers of Spanish.	25%	20%	15%	5%	5%
11. I am comfortable participating in Spanish courses designed for non-native speakers.	10%	5%	20%	10%	40%
12. The ability to speak Spanish is very important to me.	0%	5%	5%	20%	70%
13. The ability to understand spoken Spanish is very important to me.	5%	0%	0%	25%	70%
14. My Spanish Language is a critical part of who I am.	20%	20%	5%	5%	40%

15. I feel confident about my Spanish.	45%	20%	10%	20%	0%
16. In order to be considered Latino/Chicano you must speak Spanish.	65%	10%	10%	10%	5%
17. The ability to read in Spanish is very important to me.	0%	0%	30%	30%	40%
18. The ability to write in Spanish is very important to me.	0%	5%	25%	30%	40%
19. I feel comfortable speaking Spanish with Spanish speakers from other countries.	20%	35%	20%	20%	5%
20. Spanish is a critical part of Latino/Chicano culture.	10%	10%	10%	35%	35%
21. Knowing Spanish makes me feel good about myself.	5%	0%	25%	10%	45%

APPENDIX G

RECIPE ACTIVITIES

Chile Verde (al estilo Nuevo Mexicano)

Ingredientes:
chile verde - dos paquetes
carne de puerco - dos libras por cada paquete de chile
harina (un octavo de una taza)
sal (al gusto)
ajo molido (lo suficiente para cubrir la salsa)

Preparación:
- Se asan los chiles (Se puede congelarlos si no alcanza el tiempo para quitarles la piel)
- Se quita la piel y las pepitas
- Se machuca el chile con la mano. Deje que se escurre por las manos
- Se corta la carne en pedazos pequeños y se la pone a cocinar a fuego lento hasta que desaparezca el agua
- Se echa la harina poco a poco para tostar la carne
- Cuando ya esté cocida la carne se le echa la salsa de chile verde y se cocina a fuego lento
- Se agrega el ajo molido y sal al gusto

Chile de Rista
Ingredientes:
Igual al chile verde pero con chile rojo

Preparación:
- Se sacan las semillas y el tallo antes de ponerlos en el agua
- Se ponen los chiles a hervir
- Cuando ya estén suaves se pones 3 cucharadas grandes del chile en una liquadora (no se usa nada del agua del chorro. Use un estrpajo para cubrir la tapadera de la liquadora.)
- Se agrega la salsa a la carne (como el chile verde)

- **Se añade el ajo molido y la sal y se coce a fuego lento hasta que estén listas las tortillas**

Flan

Ingredientes:
4 huevos
3 cajitas de crema espesa (3 tazas)
1 taza de azúcar
canela
1 lata de leche condensada

Preparación:
- **Se mezclan la leche, la crema, huevos, 1 cucharadita de canela**

- **Se pone el azúcar en un sartén para fundirlo. Se mezcla constantamente.**

- **Se pone el azúcar camelizado en un molde hasta que se cubra todo el molde**

- **Se derrame la mezcla de huevos y leche encima del azúcar**

- **Se pone el molde en otro molde de H_2O caliente y se hornea en el horno por una hora y cuarenta y cinco minutos a 325-350 grados F.**

Se come a tiempo o frío.

APPENDIX H
SAMPLE INTERVIEW

November 1, 1995
I (G) explained the informed consent form to Margarita (M). After we sat down to begin our interview she said "OK Gloria, what exactly is it that you are doing?" So I took several minutes going over the informed consent. Then M and I started out by talking about Quebec and what Newt Gingrich was saying about the dangers of bilingualism. We were discussing racism. I asked if I could turn on the recorder and she said yes.
[racism] [neg att bilingualism] M: It seems like, I really think it started during the Reagan era. It seems like he promoted it [feelings against bilingualism].
You know we don't like the idea, you know, you're right. Blaming alot lot the economic situation
G minorities
M Minorities. And Hispanics because we are so close to the south border. And it's ridiculous because I've, they keep saying they're taking the jobs away from a lot of the gringos. And theses people are people who are dedicated, who come over and are making pennies. Dishwashers, you know they are always La migra, you know. They take the dishwashers and the cooks. And I hear even among Hispancis well they take jobs away. And I think why are people knocking down doors to do dishwashing. You know, they are really hurting for jobs, especially in Flagstaff. And that doesn't make any sense to me.
Now the health issue might be something that I don't know that much about it but in California I'm sure that there are really a lot of the Mexicans nationals coming up that probably are using are medical and health. That people may have a good argument for.
G But still we look at how much money they put in to our system into social security
M I know
G millions of dollars every year
M They don't collect it. They are hard looking people on the whole. I mean they come over, they are going to make money, they are going ot work for nothing. And they think it's money and anyway. I guess that's what's behind what a lot of people are saying you know English is the only language that we should speak.
[pos att bilingualsim] I always wondered why the United States didn't encourage us a lot more bilingualism. Not only Spanish. French, German, and even Russian. Now the oriental languages, I don't know, because they are so difficult.
But really with the world getting so small, we think that everyone should speak English. That's are problem. WE feel that everyone should have to speak English and we don't make the effort to enourage bilingualism here so that we can communicate with ohters. That's kind of ridiculous.
G I wonder why we don't make the effort.
[racism] M Because there is a sense of superiority. That we are superior to everyone else. And therefore, because we are a superior nation and we still feel that we are the strongest. Well, we probably are the strongest nation. And be golly you people learn how to speak English to communicate with us.[sarcasm] It's getting to be less and less that way and I think a lot of us are just putting blinders thinking we are such a great country. And we were at one time, but we're not as great as we used to be. You know, post WWII.
G Mmm
M And when you see that, they are constantly saying that and yet we just say they must be talking to somebody else.
G I was writing a paper this morning and some facts, some things that I read about bilingualism and our teaching force in this nation. 94% of our teachers are Anglos. Only 3% of them speak a language other than English. But by the year 2000, 40% of our students are going to be NNS of English.

[racism] M Gosh. It's kind of like we are isolating ourselves and kidding ourselves. It's just racist. Because you read the statistics that Hispanics are growing in number and growing and growing. And yet no one wants to accept that . They see it as a problem. And they want to get rid of the problem, but it's just growing. We can't do that. But anyway.
G Can I ask you a few questions
M Sure
G about how you learned Spanish Margarita. I'd like for you to tell me how you learned Spanish and what your experiences were in school with Spanish.
[pers hist lrng Sp] [grandmothers]M I learned Spanish because I grew up in a household where my parents spoke it. And but not to us. Spoke it to my aunts, my grandmother, especially. You know you hear it. And they spoke mostly English to us. But we could understand the Spanish. My grandmother was the one that forced me to speak Spanish. Not by saying you have to , but because she wouldn't speak English.
G Where was she from?
[family history/migration] M Mexico. She brought my mother and my aunt over gosh, early, just about the time of the revolution. And she brought them both.
G By herself?
M She had help. Her sister and her brother in law had already moved up here. They'd save money and send it down and then she came over. And she settled in Kansas first.
G Mmm
M And then she moved to MO. And then she found work there. Amazing isn't it? Can't speak Enlgish, but she would find work in hotels. So that's where she's from originally.
G My dad's from MO.
[pers hist lrng Sp] M Is he. I was born and reared and MO. I thought I was a Mosourian for a long time. But that's where I got Spanish. And we'd always heard it spoken.
G Was there a big Hispanic communicty where you lived?
[church] M Yes. In fact, that's what I credit my background with. I was born on the west side. There was Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. The Lady of Guadalupe school, and the Lady of Guadalupe Center. So we did everything. They had fiestas and every year the church and the people would get together and they would have the fiesta. There would be a fund raiser. And we had the traditional Mexican food, folk dancing, and games.
G Was this at the church or at the school?
M It was at the church. The church would have eveything at the Guadalupe center which had large grounds. It had a beautiful building that was built in the architecture of Spanish architecture. And there was a story about that. Should I tell you about that? you want to hear about that? [laughter]
G yeah.
M I used to wonder why they called it Las Casas Blancas. It was just one big gorgeous building. I used to wonder what I would do when I lived there. The grounds were about a half a block large. And this one vacant lots is where we used to put booths with stuff and everything for the Mexican fiestas. We had the kitchen and all. They had basket ball courts, swings, a volley ball court right behind it. And right behind it we would set up the stage for the show. And set up another portion for the patio for people to eat when we had the Mexican fiestas. Going back to the casas blancas, the empty lots, at one time there were three white houses. And there was this Anglo woman, I can't remember her name, and I wish I remembered it, who would do a lot for the Mexican people, because a lot of them were immigrants.
G Mmm

M And so these houses were used to give clinics and to help the elderly. And all of that. And then they finally had gotten enough money from the Kansas City , MO., community, to build a beautiful house which was called the casa blancas.
G And you're like , but it's only one casa.
[church] M Yeah, the I found out the reasons for it. That's where I grew up. That's where I learned a lot of the customs. And the language, the dances. I took dancing. You know, the Mexican hat dance, the raspa. We had costumes as children we would go out and entertain in nursing homes. These little Mexican kids.
G What about in school? Could you use your Spanish in school.
[school] M No. No. That's where I, we as kids, entered the Anglo world. Cause we had sisters of St. Joseph teaching us. And we wore uniforms and no Spanish was used. We learned the English. We did have a Spanish mass. We used to go to mass every morning.
[church] But the Spanish mass was reserved for Sundays.
G Did the monjas speak Spanish?
[school] M No. They were all Anglos. But, by the time we, I, came along it was easy to speak English. But my mother went to Our Lady of Guadalupe school, and I don't know if you've heard the stories. They were discouraged from speaking Spanish. And they even had a patrol girls out there to report anybody who was speaking Spanish. But by the time we came in we just spoke English anyway. So it wasn't discouraged anymore.
G Because people weren't speaking Spanish generally?
[grandmothers] [maintenance] M Right. And a lot of my generation. And I'm an older generation. We couldn't speak Spanish. Though we could understand it. We knew all the bad words[laughter], but like I said. I do credit, any of us who did learn Spanish, I can tell you right now it was from the abuelitas. Because they are the ones that wouldn't give into speaking English. They would just speak Spanish. And a lot of us had to communicate with them. And I think that's where many of us learned our Spanish.
G But it was your parents .
[pers hist lrng Sp] M Our parents were English speaking. We were going to speak English. And they were going to send their kids to speak English. Get a good education and get good jobs. And so, the American dream.

G Right. I'd like to ask you some questions about why you're in a Native speakers class. How did you hear about this class.
[church] M Isabel is in our Parish and she had it up I the bulletin. And oh that's what I'd like to get into. Cause I already had two semester of college Spanish.
G With non native speakers?
[literacy] M With non native speakers, --- was my teacher. And she was very good. Because that's where I learned the grammar.
[SNS] But the conversational. [doesn't end sentence but tone was a little negative]
[maintenance] But I heard about it from the church. And I decided that that's what I wanted to do becasue I had very little experience with speaking Spanish at this point. It's moslty English. I don't want to lose it.
G Mmm
[slf concept] M And I think that I have enough background in it. And like I said, you understand more than I do at times. But I'm constantly learning vocbulary in this class. Which is great. And I'm tired after the class because we are speaking Spanish all of the time which is great. Because you're working hard to learn the language and to speak it. And I used to be afraid of the thought of ever going back to Mexico because my Spanish was icky. But now I'm thinking well if I keep this up I might be able to communicate. That's why I decided to take it. Um, I find around here Spanish isn't spoken that much.

G What about in ABQ when you go to ABQ?
[cultural pride] [cultural curiosity & awareness] [solidarity] M Oh I love ABQ. I'll speak it if I see somebody there that . I go to this jewlery store that sells lots of beautiful ilver jeweley. And I findly met the buyer. And she was from , Um, the soùth. Not Mexico, but another country and I can;t tell you which. And I started to speak to her and then I asked her how she came to the United States. And it's funny, she had lived and worked in Flagstaff for a short time before going to ABQ. I find ABQ much more friendlier. There's so much raza there. And it's so Spanish. I love it. We hope to move to ABQ eventually because I love it so much. The culture. It's ther you know. La gente! [laughter] And that's what I enjoy so much about ABQ.
G From this class you really hope to gain a better understanding of Spanish?
M Yeah. A grasp.
G So you can communicate.
[literacy]M So I can communicate.
[slf concept] And it's a part of me Gloria.
G I know it is.
M It is. It's a big, big part of me that I've missed for so long.
[historical awareness and curiosity] And now that I am retired I can concentrate more and learn more about why I'm here and not in one of those pobre ranchitos in Mexico. And that's where I would be had it not been for my grandmother and my father. My father came up when he was 15 and never went back for another 40 years.
G Wow.
M And his father had passed away. He never did know his baby sister. And when he went back. He went back to the little ranchito where they still lived. And he saw his mother, my namesake ---, who was blind.
G Tu tocaya.
M Tocaya?
G your namesake.
[historical awareness and curiosity] M And I never got to know them at all I just got to see them in pictures.
I have no idea of the--- family. And my father rarely spoke of his early life. He was very quiet about it. All of this, this class has encourage me to do a lot more research. When I'm in ABQ or Santa Fe I go to this bookstore and I search for these books. And it gives me more of an idea of where they came from. I wouldn't go back to live there. [cultural pride] But isn't that silly , going to just a little class and I see beautiful culture, you know in . .[pause]
G In our classroom?
[cultural curiosity & awareness]M in our classroom, with all that she is exposing us to I think I wnat to learn more about that, I want to learn more about that. You know like El Dia de los Muertos. But I just recently learned about that about 2-3 years ago. And this was on our trip to ABQ. We started to see things and that's why we bought the books. And I thought, I'll be darn, it is a beautiful way of looking at death.
G Oh yeah.
[cultural pride] [cultural curiosity & awareness]M But I've been so Americanized that oh God you know. Now you can look at death that way. And it's a beautiful way of looking at it. I love it. It makes me less afraid of death. Accepting death. Don't worry aabout it. Live now.If it comes it comes, you know.
G Mmm
M And that's a part of this beautiful culture of ours. So.

G Yeah, my neighbor Don Juan in Guatemala I'd say at night time, Buenas noches Don Juan, hasta Mañana, and he'd go "pues no se seño. Tal vez. Sólo Dios sabe. Tal vez no estamos mañana. And I would just think what an interesting way to think about life.

M I find my self thinking more and more that way. And I don't know if its; becuase of my age or because part of the culture. Becuase I don't want to worry about tomorrow so much. You want to plan, but you don't want ot worry about it. And you just want to take a day at a time because you may not be here tomorrow.
G Yeah , your life can take a turn real fast. Do you think that ther'es a sense of solidarity in our class? Have you felt that?
[solidarity] M Don't you think? I like our class. [Laughter] I love it. I have so much fun. Every one is interested in the same thing. And the anglos in our class, you and Eugenio,
G The token gringos
M Yeah, it's um, the two little gals, you know, S and A. I love those two gals.
G They're so great.
[solidarity]M It's, being introduced, it's just really neat. P, everybody, they all have a different reason for being there, and yet it's just neat. It's a one interest. And that's learning the language more fully
G And the culture
[cultural curiosity & awareness] M Yeah, and it really is neat. You can appreciate the differences even in the United States, Chicago has something different [R, another student in our class, is from Chicago], the SW is completely different. It really is. It was quite, when we first started coming out here I was so surprised.
G It's way different than MO.
[cultural pride]M Mo is more Mexican. The SW has these Spaniards. We're Spanish. A lot more Spanish culture and customs because ther was so much Spansih influence here. And I was reading where the people from the SW they consider themselves Spaniards. Because they didn't come from Mexico. They were Mexico and then they became the United State. Where as people throuhout the east they are usually more Mexican because they come from Mexico. Texas is more Mexican. But NM, AZ,
G A lot of españoles.
[racism] M Sí, no quieren decir que son Mexicanos. Pero si son. Pero no se puede decir esto. [laughter]
G maybe that's another angle of the racism that we have in our country.
M Son espanoles y no son Mexicanos. Y yo conozco una mujer aqui que dice que es espanola, viene de NM. Y yo le quiero decir, que no es sangre mestizo. Y si es mestizo que no es mexican. Pero dice que es espanola.
G Interesante.
M Verdad. Pero es la verdad, la gente que vive en NM se dice que son espanoles, no mexicanos. Yo soy Mexicana {laughter] Yo sé que yo soy mexicana. But that's like you said, it's another source of racism, and it's all over the place.
G Yeah, it is. One of the reasons that I brought up this solidarity issue is becuase I've noticed in our class compared with other Spanish classes that I've taken, --- has a class where she can say nuestra culutra, nuestro lenguaje.
[cultural curiosity & awareness]M You respond to it. And you're right. We respond to that. A couple of times I've said , I didn't know that, you know such and such , in Spanish. And she'll bring that up, like the piñata. And that was really cool. I knew about the marichi, but the piñata, oh it's not really a custom that, it's a custom that was brought to mexico. Which is neat. And we're a still a small world aren't we. But anyway, you're right. A 2 1/2 hour class goes so quickly. It really does. She has it go just like that. [snaps her fingers] But it's like you're in another world for a little while. Once I'm in there and I forget where I'm at. I'm so into what ever she is giving us for the class. I hope more people would take that class for to give them a little bit more pride in their culture. Especially Flagstaff.
G Margarita, what are some situations where you would use Spanish here in Flagstaff? And situations where you would

[maintenance] M Well one of the reasons that I wanted to take the class was because I thought that I would look for a job. And if I wanted to work it would be in a receptionist type positiion.
G mmm
[slf concept] M And there are so many Spanish speaking people here. And you see, you notice doctors' offices I lookded through the want adds, they would like bilingual people. It would be great if I could have this and speak it with more confidence. Because I don't get the opportunity to use it as much. That' one of the reasons.
G And you use English just about
M always
G always.
[maintenance] M Yeah. And that's another reason for this class. So I can use it more. I find myself speaking to my husband more in Spanish. You know, he has a barber shop and he gets a lot of Spanish speaking people. And he can't speak it at all. But you know what Isabel said the other day, if they use some words that you're not sure of, as long as you get your point across you have communicated. And a case in point is my husband just ordered some more calenders, ...And I told my husband, Isabel said, that as long as you get your point across , no matter what kind of Spanish, you've communicated. And he did, he got his point across. But I would have loved to have been a fly on the wall.
G It's so hard on the telphone too.
M He said he couldn't understand the man and a woman came on and he got the order. And he could use the Spanish. And I will speak to him It's a funny thing, he will understand it sometimes better than I do, but he can't speak it.
G Why isn't he in our class?
M Naa. Naa. I can't get him to go back to school period.
G I'm trying to, I want to make sure that I'm asking the right questions. Is there something that I'm not asking that I should be asking?
M Well, I've given you more than you've asked. [laughter]
G That's OK. That's great.
[maintenance]M I just wonder in your research if you were to ask a Spanish speaking person if they feel it's important to keep the language. I think in our class obviously it is. But, you know why it's important to me. Because it's a part of me that's I don't want it to die. It's me. But if you would ask my neices or nephews, I just wonder if they would think it's better. Because they have been so anglicized.
G Mmm.
[cultural pride] M And I don't know. I just feel priviledged that I grew up when I did. And in the area that I did. Because I was exposed to it.And I really feel it for who have it. And they understand. My people don't understand. Like my nieces and my nephews. We all wanted to have a better life and moed out to the suberbs and the kids to have a good education. And we did that and all my nieces and nephews got that. But they don't have the language. And they don't have the history behind it. And it's not too much cause my parents gave it to us. It's more because as a community we grew up in that.
G You really felt that you had the language but the culture was so much linked.
M Yeah, the Guadalupe Parish. How Mexican can you get?{Laughter} I don't know. Um.
End of Tape

APPENDIX I
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

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PLACE OF BIRTH: Lincoln, Nebraska

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EDUCATIONAL DEGREES AWARDED
Northern Arizona University, Ed.D., 1997
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PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS HELD
Graduate Assistant, Center for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, 1994-Present

Spanish Instructor, Department of Modern Languages, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, summer 1995 & 1996

Peace Corps Volunteer, Santa Clara la Laguna, Sololá, Guatemala, Central America, 1991-1993

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American Educational Research Association
American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese
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SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS

Delany-Barmann, G. & Prater, G. (in press). Cultural and linguistic barriers concerning Native Americans. *Rural Special Education Quarterly.*

Delany-Barmann, G. (1996). Australian indigenous language efforts [Review of *The land still speaks* : Commissioned Report No. 14]. *NABE News,* 20, 3, pp. 27-28.

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SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS continued

Delany-Barmann, G. & Minner, S. (1995). *Development and implementation of a program of study to prepare teachers for diversity at Northern Arizona University: A preliminary report.* East Lansing, MI: National Center for Research on Teacher Learning. (ERIC document Reproduction Service No. ED 391 792)